THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Chairman has asked him to find out the details and report it to him. He would report it to the Chairman.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: When he will report?

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, you should protect the rights of the Members.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: When the meeting took place you were not there. The Chairman has asked the Parliamentary Affairs Minister to find out the facts and report to him back.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: What is the report of the Minister?

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH: **

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra): Madam, this should not go on record. I beg you whatever the hon. Member has said should not go on record. It is unparliamentary.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have already said, it will not go on record. It will not go in the press also.

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI (Assam): I am also serious about Adivasis. When the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs has said that he is collecting the information you must wait.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDTNTS ADDRESS—Contd.

श्री राम चन्द्र विकल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदया, राष्ट्रपति महोदय के भाषण पर धन्यवाद का जो प्रस्ताव कुलकर्णी जी ने रखा है मैं उसके समर्थन में बोल रहा हूं। इससे पहले मैं बधाई देता हूं प्रधान मंत्री जी और वित्त मंत्री जी को कि एक अच्छा बजट उन्होंने सदन में पेश किया, विशेषकर किसानों के लिए ग्रामवासियों के लिए, हरिजनों के लिए जो इस बार बजट में रखा गया है वह पहला बार उधर ध्यान जाना है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (मध्य प्रदेश) : बजट पर अलग से चर्चा हो विकल जी।

श्री राम चन्द्र विकल : बधाई के साथ साथ जो आज देश में विषमताएं हैं और जिनके ऊपर पक्ष विपक्ष के लोग आये दिन कुछ न कुछ चर्चा करते ही रहते हैं उनके बारे में मुझे एक ही शब्द यह कहना है कि यह हमारे देश का दुर्भाग्य रहा है कि समाज, जनता और सभी जगह सत्ता और सम्पत्ति का सम्मान हुआ है, श्रम और सेवा का नहीं हुआ है। श्रम और सेवा का सम्मान काश वैसा ही होने लगे जैसा सत्ता और सम्पत्ति का होता है तो विषमताओं की खाई पट सकती है और देश के आर्थिक विकास में बहुत बड़ी प्रगति हो सकती है जिससे लोगों में भारी संतोष होगा।

मैं इस मौके पर स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानियों के लिए कुछ शब्द कहना चाहता हूं। स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानी जिन्होंने अपने बलिदानों से इस देश को आजाद कराया उनको रेल के पास देने का सवाल अटका हुआ है बहुत दिनों से, यह हो जाना चाहिए। आश्वासन तो दिये जाते हैं। मैं बार बार कहता रहा हूं सदन में और सदन के बाहर भी कि जिन्होंने इस देश के लिए त्याग किया, बलिदान दिया, कुर्बानी दी उनको कम से कम इस देश को देखने का सौभाग्य देना चाहिए। वैसे भी इस देश में त्याग और बलिदानों की परम्परा को डालना है तो शिक्षा के द्वारा बच्चों को भावी पीढ़ी को उनके जीवन चरित्र और उनके बलिदान की कहानियों को बताना चाहिए। लाखों लाख ऐसे लोग हैं जिन्होंने बलिदान किया है, उनकी जानकारी आज देश को

**Not recorded.

[श्री राम चन्द्र विकल]

नहीं है। सारे देश के इतिहास को बढ़ाकर हमारे बच्चों के कोर्स में इस बात को डालना चाहिए। तभी मैं समझता हूं किसी देश की भावी पीढ़ी बलिदानों के प्रति आदर करेगी और उन बलिदानों पर चलने की कोशिश कर सकती है जिसकी आज बहुत जरूरत है। आज दुनिया में जो दुखांत विषम परिस्थितियों की वजह से युद्ध के बादल छाए हुए ही नहीं है बल्कि युद्ध हो रहे हैं उनकी वजह से एक करोड़ बीस लाख शरणार्थी सारी दुनिया में मारे-मारे फिरते हैं अपने घरों की तलाश में, चाहे हिन्दुस्तान हो, चाहे हिन्दुस्तान से बाहर के लोग हों, हमारे यहां तो श्रीलंका के शरणार्थी, पाकिस्तान के, बांग्ला देश के, चीन के, तिब्बत के, पता नहीं कहां-कहां के शरणार्थी आए हुए हैं। यह समस्या भी हमारे देश के लिए कठोर बनी हुई है। जहां तक बीमार इंडस्ट्रीज का सवाल है उसके लिए एक बोर्ड तो बन गया लेकिन बोर्ड बनने के बाद भी एक भी जो सिक इंडस्ट्री कहलाती है चालू नहीं की गई। जब आर्थिक विकास की हमारे देश को जरूरत है तो इन खराब इंडस्ट्रीज को पहले चलाना चाहिए और नए उद्योग खोलने की कोशिश तब तक बन्द कर देनी चाहिए, यह मेरी राय है, येन-केन प्रकारेण नई इंडस्ट्री के लाइसेंस, जमीन, कोटा परमिट और लोन तो आए दिन लेते रहते हैं, लेकिन जो पुरानी इंडस्ट्रीज बन्द हो गई है, खराब हो गई हैं जो कि 1 लाख 70 हजार से ऊपर हैं उनको चलाने की तरफ बोर्ड बनने के बाद भी ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है। वह ध्यान देना चाहिए।

यहां धर्म और राजनीति का सवाल आए दिन आने लगा। सच्चाई तो यह है कि धर्म को समझने में भूल हो रही है। धर्म के जो दस लक्षण हैं अहिंसा, सत्य अपरिग्रह इंद्रिय निग्रह आदि यह मानवमात्र का धर्म एक है। इसमें दुनिया में कहीं विवाद नहीं है। लेकिन आज जो संप्रदाय बन गए हैं हिन्दू, मुसलमान, सिख, जैन, बौद्ध इनको धर्म समझकर यह कह देना कि राजनीति और धर्म का का मेल नहीं है, मैं समझता हूं कि यह सही बात नहीं है। राजनीति तो बिन धर्म और धन के चल ही नहीं सकती। अहिंसा किसको नहीं चाहिए, सत्य किसको नहीं चाहिए, अपरिग्रह किसको नहीं चाहिए, इंद्रिय निग्रह किसको नहीं चाहिए। यह धर्म मानव-मात्र का है, किसी जाति विशेष, संप्रदाय विशेष को धर्म नहीं मान लेना चाहिए। यह थोड़ी सी नई परिभाषा जो हो रही है उससे भी कठिनाई पैदा हो सकती है। उप सभापति महोदया, गांधी जी तो प्रार्थना सभा में ही अपना सब काम शुरू किया करते थे। मैंने आचार्य कृपलानी से एक दिन कह दिया कि आप तो प्रार्थना और ईश्वर में भरोसा नहीं करते, नास्तिक हो तो गांधी जी की प्रार्थना सभा में क्यों जाते हो? तो कृपलानी जी ने निःसंकोच मुझे कहा कि गांधी जी प्रार्थना सभा में राजनीति कहते हैं इसलिए मैं जाता हूं। लिहाजा राजनीति और धर्म को अलग करना मैं समझता हूं कि धर्म के सही मायने समझने की मैं कोशिश होनी चाहिए। उप सभापति महोदया, मैं एक ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं काश्मीर में, हिमाचल प्रदेश और उत्तर प्रदेश में गूजरों की बहुत बड़ी तादाद है जिनको शैडयूल्ड ट्राइब्ज में कायम करने के लिए जवाहर लाल जी का आश्वासन हुआ, इंदिरा जी का हुआ और जब भी मैंने यह सवाल उठाया राज्य सभा और लोक सभा में केन्द्रीय सरकार राज्य सरकारों को कहती है, वीरभद्र प्रताप सिंह जी ने अभी मुझे कहा कि हम तो कर रहे हैं लेकिन राज्य और केन्द्रीय सरकार का सामंजस्य नहीं हो पाता। बेचारे घुमंतू लोग परेशान हैं और जिनको देशभक्ति की तौर से सीमा पार है जिन्होंने सेनाओं से आगे जा-जा करके लड़कर काश्मीर को बचाया और हमेशा जो शहीद हुए, वहां उनका मजार भी बना हुआ है, ऐसे देशभक्तों को शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब में कर दिया जाय। यह बहुत दिनों से पुरानी मांग है। इससे उनका ही नहीं बल्कि राष्ट्रीय सवाल भी हल हो जाएगा। इससे जो उनकी विषमताएं हैं, उनकी जो परेशानियां हैं नौकरी में या और चीजों में वे भी दूर हो सकती हैं।

मैं थोड़ा सा बीमारियों की तरफ ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं। उप सभापति महोदया, मैंने कई बार रखा है और हैल्थ मिनिस्टर साहब ने जवाब भी दिया है कि प्राकृतिक चिकित्सा को हमें ज्यादा प्राथमिकता देनी चाहिए स्कूलों और कालेजों में और अस्पतालों में भी। इसके बारे में मैं तो कुछ जानता नहीं लेकिन इसके द्वारा चमत्कारिक काम हो रहा है। आज दवाओं पर देसाई जी सब ल उठा रहे थे कि कितनी दवाएं खराब खिलाई जा रही हैं करोड़ों रुपये की दवाएं और ऐसी बहुत सी बातें हैं। मैं सर्जरी के खिलाफ नहीं हूं। एलोपैथी या किसी अन्य पैथी के खिलाफ नहीं हूं लेकिन नैच्युरोपैथी ऐसी चीज है जो साधारण सी चीज है जिसमें दवाओं का कोई इस्तेमाल नहीं है केवल करने मात्र की चीज है। इसको आप स्कूलों और कालेजों में ले जाएं। मैं तो अभी स्कूलों और कालेजों में गया। बच्चे फोन करके मुझे बुलाते है और कहते हैं कि आपने चश्मा हटाने की बात की थी, आपने याददाश्त की बात की थी, आपने मोटापा कम करने की बात की थी, और हाइट बढ़ाने की बात की थी। स्कूलों और कालेजों में बच्चे मेरे जैसे आदमी को आए दिन बुलाते है। रूस में भी बताया वहां कुछ भ्रम था, मैंने वहां के अफसरों से बात की एम्बेसी में बात की और मास्को में दो दिन योग पर मेरा भाषण कर दिया। वहां तो उसका कोई असर नहीं उप सभापति महोदया, लेकिन माइकल नाम का जो अफसर है जब इंडिया में फैस्टीवल के लिए उसने आकर मुझे फोन किया और फोन करके बोला कि विकल साहब मैं योग सीखना चाहता हूं। संयोग से 7 से 14 नवम्बर तक मेरी कोठी में कैंप लगा। वह बराबर 7 दिन अटैंड करता रहा लेकिन और लोग जो रूस के आये वे तो फोटो खींचने ही आए। लेकिन शिवराज पाटिल से पहले मैंने माइकल को दो शब्द बोलने को कह किया। तब उसने कहा कि जब मैं इंडिया के लिए चला तो मेरी बीवी जो गवर्नमेंट ऑफ इंडिया में है बड़े कंपोज लेकर सोती थी जब आपने मास्को में भाषण दिया तो वह सारी विधि नींद नहीं आने की बताई। कंपोज छोड़कर उसको नींद आने लगी तो मेरी बीवी ने कहा कि आप इंडिया में सारा योग समझकर आओ। एक बाल-आसन से मेरा कंपोज छूट गया तो भारत के योग में पता नहीं क्या चमत्कार होगा। इसलिए मैंने योग अटैंड किया है। बाहर की दुनिया के लोग भारत के योग को, भारत की प्राचीन बातों को, यहां की संस्कृति और सभ्यता को सर झुकाते हैं और मानते हैं। लेकिन बार-बार सदन में आश्वासन देने के बावजूद योग के काफी टीचर बेकार फिर रहे है। जो व्यायाम कराते हैं, पी. टी. कराते हैं उन टीचरों को योग सिखाकर सर्टीफिकेट दे करके गलती से उनको लगाया जा रहा है जो ट्रेन्ड योग टीचर हैं उनको स्कूलों, कालेजों और अस्पतालों मे आप एक्सपेरीमेंट करके देखिए। उप सभापति महोदया, मेरे घर पर तो आए दिन एक-दो मरीज आते हैं और पहले दिन में ही फायदा उठाकर जाते हैं। मैं उदाहरण नहीं दे सकता। लेकिन डा० महरोत्रा से बड़ी कोई अथारिटी विलिंगडन अस्पताल में नहीं है। आजकल हार्ट स्पेशलिस्ट और हार्ट पेशेन्ट हैं। एक दिन के ट्रीटमेंट में हमारी जो नागपुर में किताबें छपीं उनको मरीजों में बांट रहे है रोजमर्रा मंगा-मंगा कर मैं देते-देते थक गया हूं। एक छोटी सी बात के ऊपर सरकार का ध्यान देना चाहिए केन्द्रीय सरकार को ही नहीं राज्य सरकारों को भी केन्द्रीय सरकार को आदेश देकर प्राकृतिक चिकित्सा को बहुत बड़ी प्राथमिकता दिलानी चाहिए।

उप सभापति महोदया, सूखा राहत के बारे में भी मैं एक-दो राज्यों में गया हूं। इसमें कोई दो राय नहीं कि केन्द्र और राज्य सरकारों की तरफ से बहुत कुछ मदद हुई है सूखा राहत कार्यों में गरीबों के लिए, किसानों के लिए और मजदूरों के लिए लेकिन मैं मौके पर गया हूं बिना किसी प्रोग्राम के सच्ची सहायता

[श्री रामचन्द्र विकल]

गरीबों तक बहुत कुछ नहीं पहुंच पा रही है । इसको थोड़ा चैकअप करना चाहिए और ऐसे लोगों के लिए चाहे वह अधिकारी हों, चाहे कर्मचारी हों, चाहे ठेकेदार हों, चाहे कोई भी पब्लिकमैन क्यों न हों जो ऐसे सूखा राहत के वक्त में भी सच्चाई के उस मदद को गरीबों तक नहीं पहुंचाते हैं तो इससे बड़ा अपराध कोई नहीं है, इसलिए उनको दण्ड देना चाहिए । मैं किसानों के लिए फसल बीमा की बात कहना चाहता हूं । उप-सभापति महोदया, आप भी जानती हैं किसान के फसल बीमें के सिद्धांत रूप से माना गया परीक्षण के लिए कहीं-कहीं लेकिन सार्वजनिक रूप से सारे देश में किसानों के फसल बीमा और मवेशी बीमा को लागू नहीं किया जा रहा है । देवी आपदाओं का जितना शिकार किसान रहता है, चाहे ओला हो, चाहे पाला हो, चाहे बाढ़ हो, चाहे सूखा हो, चाहे मवेशियों में बीमारी हो, चाहे फसलों में बीमारी हो अनेक तरह की देवी आपदाओं से मारे हुए किसान को जब तक फसल और मवेशियों का बीमा नहीं होगा आप उनकी आर्थिक तरक्की में सहायक नहीं हो सकते ।

इन शब्दों के साथ, मैं राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण पर जो कुलकर्णी जी का धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव है उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूं और आभार मानता हूं कि आपने मुझे भी अपने विचार व्यक्त करने का मौका दिया । धन्यवाद ।

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Punjab): Madam Deputy Chairman, I derive a genuine pleasure in associating myself with the motion moved by Shri A. G. Kulkarni to thank the President for his Address to Parliament. The Address gives a fair account of the steps taken to achieve an all-round progress in the nation's life and of the determination to accelerate the rate of growth and development. However, Madam, the very mention of our march towards the national goals in the President's Address has, once again, caused consternation to our friends on the other side.

To remove poverty and improve the living standards of our people, particularly in the rural areas, five technology missions have been undertaken. To fight disease and illiteracy, to provide drinking water to all villages, to step up the production of edible oils and to make available greater tele-communication services, all these programmes are time bound and are progressing according to the schedule. However, the Opposition fails or refuses to see this as also the porgess recorded under the various poverty alleviation prorgammes. Instead they continue to accuse the Government of following elitist policies. The National Policy on Education and the Government's resolve to provide quality education are the targets of the Opposition's vituperation, but the fact is that 41 per cent of the children seleced to Navodaya Vidyalayas belong to the families below the poverty lien and 77 per cent come from rural areas.

To keep pace with the moving world a grater thrust has been given to oil exploration, electronics, nuclear energy programme, space research and sea-bed mining. The achievements in these areas have been evidently significant, but inexplicably there is still a barrage of adverse comments from the other side. A particular newspaper which has reduced itself to a propaganda sheet for the Opposition for obvious personal reasons wholly unconnected with the freedom of press, sums up the President's Address contemptuously as a *dhobi* list and find it unpaltable to see therein a reference to so many achievements of the Government. A befitting answer to such a slanderous campaign has been given the other day by our scientists and technologists who, by conducting a successful test firing of India's first tactical surface-to-surface missile, have placed the country in the select group of four such nations that have developed this class of missiles. Madam, it is major step in our march to self-reliance and lends a significant impetus to our Defence

preparedness. Given their disposition the Opposition leaders cannot help being sceptical even about this achievement which we all are legitimately proud of.

If we look at the notices of amendments we find that there are as many as 251 amendments moved to the Motion. True to their style the Opposition have tried to conjure up a miasma of dom and for every ailment under the sun, real or imaginary, and even for the utter failure of non-Congress Governments in different States, it is the Centre which is sought to be blamed.

Unable to comprehend the advancement made and of the imperatives of sustained development, the Opposition find fault even with the introduction of modern technology. Ignorant of the new employment avenues opened and millions of mandays of employment generated during the last year, the Opposition take objection to the process of modernisation in industry and agriculture, and the Government's efforts to step up production and raise productivity are criticised. Left to themselves the Opposition parties would want us to believe that the Central Government is responsible even for the last year's drought. Little do they realise that we could face the unprecedented challenge to our economy and prevent a crisis only because the initiatives of the Government during the last few years had infused a new strength in our economy and helped build up buffer food stocks. The Government moved in swiftly to meet the situation. Necessary assistance was given to all the States to provide relief to those affected and the flow of essential commodities was stepped up to the vulnerable sections of the society through the public distribution system. Given the resource constraints, the Government demonstrated a sound economic management policy. It is because of the policies pursued by this Government in the past that despite this drought which is unprecedented we anticipate a positive growth rate of one to two per cent in the GNP. The exports performance has also been commendable and industrial production is expected to register a growth rate of eight per cent. But our friends on the other side continue to sound pessimistic and prophesy doom.

Madam, besides this natural calamity, the nation has had to face many other challenges. But the Government has always responded with alacrity in dealing with the situation. The Siachen glacier was cleared of the hostile presence with resolute firmness and our position about the inviolabiilty of our borders in the North-East was reiterated in no nuclear terms. To our gesture of goodwill, Pakistan has responded by contriving to foment trouble here. They have continued to aid and abet the terrorist activity and secessionist elements in India. Whilst the Congress and the Government are engaged in a grim battle to fight terrorism and restore normalcy to the blood-soaked State of Punjab, our friends on the other side have only revelled in trying to score a point. They do not pause to ponder over the seriousness of the situation but continue to mouth blasphemies. As they stand now, they have no suggestions to offer and have nothing positive to contribute, but only give calls for bandhs and strikes, hoping in vain that untruths and falsehoods repeated ad nauseam might one day sound true to the people. Not after the harrowing and frustrating experience of 1977-80; they must remember.

Madam, the commitment of the Congress (I) to peace and development, and to the nation's unity and integrity, has recently been acknowledged by the brave people of Tripura who, unmindful of the repraisals and intimidation by the CPI (M) activists, have voted out the CPI (M) from that State and the CPI (M) friends, finding their influence weakening, have no compunction in directing their unprin-

[Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal]

cipled attack even against our valinat soldiers who went to Tripura to fight the anti-national activties of the TNV. There was no murmur till the election results were declared. Having lost they now indulge in this sort of accusations and they have even cajoled the other parties to raise a crescendo of meaningless tirade against the Centre, the army, the Election Commission and, impliedly, even the people of Tripura. They accuse the Election Commission of becoming a tool in the hands of the Centre at a time when the Congress conceded a seat in Assam on the verdict of the Election Commission after we had virtually won this and won the confidence of the people. Unfortunately, similar allegations were levelled against the Judiciary also by the leader of the Telugu Desam group in the Rajya Sabha.

Madam, such uncalled for accusations would only shatter the credibility of the system. There was a complaint, and it has been a consistant complaint, that Centre-State relations have been strained. But there has been no intospection by the Opposition leaders. Demands are raised and issues are raked up, unmindful of the repercussions of the same on our polity. Their only mission is to whip up feelings against the Centre. On his part, the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, has always opted for a dialogue. He has sought to consult the Opposition on major issues. But the latter have demonstrated no conviction and have only endavoured to worsen the situation to put the Government in bad light. The National Development Council is a suitable forum to discuss matters. But the non-Congress Chief Ministers prefer to stay away from that. And our friends here choose to walk out even from the meetings of the Consultative Committees.

For all matters, assistance is sought from the Centre. This is understandable. But what is not understandable is that for every failure, for diversion of unds and for mismanagement of their own affairs, some Chief Ministers still choose to blame the Centre.

Madam, in a democracy it is the undisputed right of every political party to go to the people to propagate their ideology, their point of view and to endeavour to come to power. Most unfortunately, what we find here is a total lack of principles, and instead an euphoric resort to desperate means to overthrow the lawfully elected Government. A strong attempt was made last year to spread disaffection, against the Government through misinformation and disinformation, to create an illusory crisis and then seize the opportunity to over throw the Government in which the preponderant majority of the countrymen have placed immense and unprecedented faith.

Madam, if we want our system and own institutions to throb with life and the country to surge forward proudly, some of us will have to abandon the practice of confrontation at least on matters of immense importance to the country, on matters which are basic to our polity.

An hon. Member from the Opposition vainly tried to ridicule even our foreign policy. He is either obsessed by the anti-Government phobia or is wholly unaware of the respect accorded to our views in the comity of nations. The enunciation of non-alignment, our support to the liberation movements, our struggle against the abhorrent system of apartheid our fight against any form of exploitation and discrimination, our championing the cause of world peace, have won us wide acclaim. The signing of INF treaty and the Soviet offer to pull out from Afghanistan are two major current developments which promise to herald a nuclear-free world and to promote peaceful co-existence amongst nations. The persistent and untiring efforts of Shri Rajiv Gandhi along with other

leaders of the Six-Nation Initiative have contributed significantly in bringing about this attitudinal change in the hearts of the two superpowers. Concomitantly our prestige has enhanced and our own national interests have been promoted. Any candid analysis would prove that. It is time the Opposition woke up to the reality, gave up the self-defeating exercise of making issues of non-issues and, instead, gave a call not for strikes and bandhs but hard work and committed itself to a constructive programme which is absolutely necessary for strengthening our basic principles of democracy, socialism and secularism. Thank you.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Madam Deputy Chairman, I have listened carefully to my honourable colleague, Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal; I have listened to some of the other participants from the Treasury Benches.. (Interruption). I have also listened to such interruptions not just today but frequently earlier. I would welcome them, Madam, with your cooperation because it would enliven the debate which is tending to flag and sag on its feet.

I would like join an opening thought, share an opening thought, with my distinguished colleague, Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal. He put all the ailments currently afflicting the Union of India on the head of the Opposition. I would submit to you, Madam, that it is not we who have to judge this Government, we do not have to pass comments on it. Events have already judged you. It is events that are passing a comment on the performance or non-performance of this Government. The President's Address to the joint sitting of Parliament at the turn of every year, is not a mere ritual. It is, in fact, a kind of a message from the head of the republic to the Union of India, a balance-sheet of performance, a message regarding the state of the Union and an account of what his Government intends to do in the coming year. I would like to share with your permission, Madam, a portion from the President's Address, a portion of elegant phraseology about a mythical dreamland. The President in his Address to the joint, Session was pleased to share with us a vision of India, and even when he was pronouncing it from the Chair, I was sufficiently concerned to enquire of my colleague who was then sitting near me as to which land the President was talking about . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: Why?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH...because the President said, of this vision of India, as being a land whose unity and integrity are invulnerable to external threats or internal weaknesses, where the ideals of democracy, secularism and socialism enshrined in our Constitution are fully realised, where social justice prevailed with equality of opportunity for every human being where science and technology have helped to wipe out poverty and disease, where economic development does not exhaust the bounties of nature, where industrialisation and modernization are fused with moral and spiritual values, where all religious and cultures flourish in a atmosphere of mutual respect and co-operation. And the President was good enough thereafter to inform us that in the last 40 years we have progressed along this path of a land of milk and honey. I am saddened that in a message which is largely a message ocmprising of an account of the state of the Union, the President drew us a picture of a vision of India which is virtually non-existent.

I would like to share with you Madam, two thoughts as my prelimanary observation on this. The first of these two thoughts relates to the aspect of virtue and righteousness in goverance. Now, Madam, I believe that after the general idea of public virtue, I know of no higher principle than that of righteous conduct in go-

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

vernance. These two ideas of virtu and righteous conduct in goverance are united in one. It is only the idea of 'right' that enables men to be independent without arrogance, and more importantly, it is only that subscription to righteousness which gives us the ability to obey without servility. I would request my colleague from the Treasury Bench to pay Particular heed to these two elements of virtue and of righteousness in public conduct and examine not just their own conduct but the conduct of their Government, against these two criteria. I believe that just as there are no great men without virtue, there are no great nations where there is an absence of righteousness in public conduct. This, Madam, is my first observation on that vision of India which the President so eloquently put across to us in the Joint Sitting. As against this principle of virtue and righteousness, we have a Government without any recognisable virtue; and not just no subscription to the ennobling concept of righteousness, in fact, and, in reverse, a Government which is excelling to all appearances in every unrighteous conduct, a Government that has, with wanton shamelessness, given up every restraint and every *maryada*, a Govern ment that has actually become the single greatest enemy of the Indian society. Above all, the greatest threat that our society today faces is not from within, it is from without. From this Government and all the various apparatuses of this Government they are acting, by the manner in which they are governing our land, as if they are set out to destroy the very fabric of Indian society. I would like to share a warning with the Treasury Benches, of which the appearances are already there. If once the social cohesion of Indian society is lost, not only can no Government reimpose it from outside, in fact the very unity of the Union of India would be endangered. I put it respectfully, Madam, through you to the House that never has the Union of India been under such a strain as it is today, our society as apprehensive as it is today, our administration so personalised and so purposeless as it is today, corruption so rampant as today, polity so corrupting and saddening as today and our Government and our Prime Minister so smugly unaware as today. Why do I say all this? I say this principally on account of how this Government governs, how it actually politicises, how the nation has been reduced to the level of a personal life misgoverned through whimsical synicism.

I charge, Madam, that this Government is an untruth. The origins of this Government were seen in a grim tragedy and an unhappy circumstances of history. The very first action of this Government was an act of unparalleled communalism, and that act of unparalleled communalism turned this captial city into one of the most barbarous cities that I have witnessed. It is the end of 1984 and the beginning of 1985. That act haunts you till today, that act of extreme communalisation and we have not forgotten the page, the entire page-long advertisements that were then taken out in an election. It was an election of perverse irresponsibility, whole page advertisements taken out to say: "Do you think twice before taking a taxi?" "Have you thrown barbed fire fences around your house?" It is these kinds of activities, it is that mental attitude which had turned this capital city of Delhi for one whole week, without governance, into a city of carnage. It was that extreme act of communalisation which has communalised our polity, as never before. It haunts you till today| It disturbs us too and we have to pay the price for it, because you have not done even the simplest of things that was necessary for a Government subscribing to virtue and public righteousness, and that simple thing that you had to do was to punish the guilty of 1984, was to actually even discuss in the Parliament a hoax like the Ranganath Mishra Report. You did not even go to that extent, leave alone punish. As long as you do not do that, this Go-

vernment will never regain its moral authority and if any Government in India acts without moral authority that Government cannot govern.

Madam, we then installed in 1985 a novice Prime Minister in office with neither preparation, nor capacity for his job. We, thereafter witnessed not only that he is failing to learn his job while in office, but it is being assumed that India is a kind of apprenticeship that novice Prime Ministers, merely because they happen to be in a dynastic succession, can be installed on this ancient land to learn or to unlearn their job at the cost of great damage to the nation... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): Who are you to judge? It is the people of India who have given a massive mandate to our party. You cannot say our Prime Minister is not competent... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Why do they object to Mr. Jaswant Singh's remark? Truth hurds them.

जल संसाधन मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्रीमती कृष्णा साही) : मैडम, मेरा प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है । महोदया, भारत की जनता ने अपना मत दिया है ... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री जसवंत सिंह : कौन सा कानून है जिसके अंतर्गत प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर किया जा रहा है ?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: She is on a point of information.

श्रीमती कृष्णा साही : देश की जनता ने प्रधानमंत्री में अपना विश्वास व्यक्त किया है .... **(व्यवधान)** जो बात माननीय सदस्य कह रहे हैं ... **(व्यवधान)**...

श्री जसवंत सिंह : प्वाइंट आफ इन्फर्मेशन इन्होंने शुरू किया प्वाइट आफ आर्डर से । इसलिये मैं कह रहा हूं । सफाई आपने दी है प्वाइंट आफ इन्फार्मेशन की ?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: He has every right to put forth his views.

श्रीमती कृष्णा साही : एक सदस्य सारे लोगों की भावनाओं का अनादर कर रहे हैं यह बिल्कुल गलत बात है, यही मेरा प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है ।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: It is not AICC party meeting; it is Rajya Sabha discussion.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I was telling Mr. Jadhav that he is to speak next.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I say what I say, because this Government is an untruth. I also say that this Government engages only in untruths. I charge this Government of engaging only in untruths. I have to give two examples. One is the example of Bofors. And another example of Bachchans. I am encouraged by the restraint shown by the Treasury Benches. So far as Bofors is concerned, it is an unhappy account of evading truth...

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated): On a point of order. It has been repeatedly ruled by you and by the Chairman of this hon. House that so far as the question of Bofors is concerned, it cannot be referred to, because it is a subject matter... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You don't know what he is going to say.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I am respectfuly submitting that ruling has been given that there can be no reference to Bofors at all.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Madhya Pradesh): That applies to Members of that Committee. If I were a member of the Committee, I would not refer; only the members of the Committee cannot refer to it.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) : कोई भी आदमी बोफोर्स का नाम लेने से नही रोक सकता, कोई ऐसी बात नही कह सकता ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदया, पार्लियामेंट की अनेक कमेटियां है और अनेकों मामले दर्ज हैं । इस आधार पर सदन में उन विषयों का उल्लेख करने से नहीं रोका जा सकता है । हां, अगर कोई उस समिति का सदस्य है तो वह उल्लेख न करे यह भी ...

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : यह भी एक परम्परा है ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : एक परम्परा है, यह नियम नही है कि अगर समिति में कोई मामला है तो उस पर बहस नहीं हो सकती है, उसका उल्लेख नहीं हो सकता । इस स्थिति को हम कभी स्वीकार नही करेंगे ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is under the Parliamentary Committee; so we cannot discuss the main issues. That is true.

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : उपसभापति जी, पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग्स के अंतर्गत सभी पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग्स होती है उदाहरणत: उनमें बी. एच. ई. एल. भी होता है । लेकिन इसका अर्थ यह नही होता है कि सदन में हम बी. एच. ई. एल. पर चर्चा नही कर सकते । उस पर यहां चर्चा होती है । यह क्या कोई नया नियम निकल रहा है । समिति के सामने अगर कोई मामला होता है तो उस समिति का सदस्य उसके बारे में न बोले यह एक परम्परा जरूर है । यह भी एक कारण था जिसके कारण हम ने निर्णय किया कि हम उस समिति में नहीं जायेंगे क्योंकि हम समझते थे कि जनता के प्रति जो हमारा दायित्व है उसके देखते हुए उस मामले में हम मौन नही रह सकते ।

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: One of the most major scandals in defence procurement of a weapons system that we have come across in independent India is the procurement of a medium artillery weapons system 155 Howitzers from Bofors A. B. of Sweden... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I respectfully submit that the record of the proceedings of the last session may be perused. There was a definite and a poitive ruling and all the Members were stopped at the instance and intervention of one Member of the House, to make any reference whatsoever to this particular deal, not even to mention the word 'Bofors', and that ruling is part of the proceedings of this hon. House. The proceedings of the last Session, I would respectfully submit, Madam, may be persued. It was hon. Member, Shri Ghulam Rasool Matto, belonging to the National Conference, who is a Member of the Committee. His objection was upheld and a ruling was given. Even in this Session, earlier, when this matter was sought to be raised directly or indirectly, it was stopped and a positive ruling was given that this matter cannot be referred to. (*Interruptions*) Madam, they have been making it an issue and the rulings of the hon. Chair are sought to be flouted. They are creating a big furore. This is their conduct; repeatedly flouting the rulig of the Chair. This is their conduct. This is their integrity. This is their righteousness. What righteousness he is talking about? He is talking in two voices.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Madam, it is highly ridiculous for the hon. Member to suggest that one should not even utter the word 'Bofors'. (*Interruptions*)

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदया, आपने व्यवस्था दे दी है उसके बाद उस पर बहस होने का कोई तुक नही है (**व्यवधान**)

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): Madam, different issues are dealt by different Parliamentary Committees. Can you stop discussion on those issues or reference to those issues simply because they are before different Parliamentary Committees?

उपसभापति : जैसे कि आडवाणी साहब ने कल यह प्रश्न उठाया था कि किसी तरह से आपको इस पर डिसकशन चाहिये था बोफर्स के सम्बन्ध में लेकिन कोई रास्ता नही था इसलिए यह बताते हुए आपने कहा था कि जब कोई मेसेज आ जाएगा तब डिसकस करेंगे यह आपने कहा था कि कोई रास्ता चाहिये जिससे इस पर हम डिसकशन कर सकें । लेकिन अभी यह कोई रास्ता नहीं निकला है ।

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : उपसभापति महोदया, आप अपना निर्णय देने से पहले मेरी बात सुन लीजिये उपसभापति महोदया, औपचारिक रूप से बोफर्स की चर्चा क्योंकि पहले सदन में हो चुकी थी इसीलिए दोबारा उसी विषय की जब तक कोई नयी घटना न हो चर्चा नहीं हो सकती और उसके आधार पर एक बन गई थी । इसीलिए जब हम सभापति जी के पास गये थे कि हम बोफर्स की चर्चा करना चाहते हैं तब उन्होंने कहा कि बोफर्स का मामला समिति को सुपुर्द कर दिया गया था और पिछले सत्र में उस पर चर्चा भी हो चुकी थी इसलिए अब फिर से चर्चा करना सम्भव नहीं है । इसलिए जब मौका आएगा तब आइये जब बोफर्स की कमेटी के एक्सटेंशन का सवाल आएगा तब आइये लेकिन किसी भी स्टेज पर यह चर्चा नहीं आई थी कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण की चर्चा करते हुए भी पिछले वर्ष भर की भारी गतिविधियों का सिंहावलोकन करते हुए अगर कोई बोफर्स का उल्लेख करना चाहे तो नहीं कर सकता । अगर कोई निर्णय ऐसा होता है कि बोफर्स की चर्चा इसलिए नहीं हो सकती क्योंकि यह मामला सदन की समिति के सामने है तो मेरा आपसे विनम्र निवेदन यह है कि यह निर्णय उचित नही होगा । इसलिए इस प्रकार का निर्णय न करें कि एक नयी परम्परा स्थापित हो जाए । समितियों के सामने अनेक मसले जाते हैं और जो मसले जाते हैं उनका उल्लेख राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में बजट की स्पीचेज़ में भी नहीं हो सकता, बजट स्पीच और राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर तो Everything under the Sun can be discussed. This is the basic tenet expected of all legislatures and there should be no bar on this except to the extent.

अगर माननीय जसवंत सिंह जी उस समिति के मैम्बर होते तो उन पर पाबन्दी थी कि इस विषय पर न बोलें । जसवंत सिंह जो उस समिति के मैम्बर नहीं हैं इसीलिए उनको पूरा अधिकार है कि बोफर्स के बारे में जो कुछ उनको कहना है कहें ।

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Madam, one point: We are discussing the President's Address. He has a right to refer to any problem which the country is facing. The Bofors issue is now before a Joint Parliamentary Committee. We are not having a formal discussion here. He is only referring to it while discussing the President's Address. You cannot bar any reference merely because it is before a Parliamentary Committee. In that way many matters are dealt with by different Select Committees. Can you stop Members from discussing all those issues which are under the consideration of different Select Committees? He can refer to it. Why are you ruling against it? Of course, I am not anticipating any such ruling. But they are pressing you to give such a ruling. Members should be a

[Shri Sukomal Sen]
liberty to refer to any issue. It is the voice of the House. You cannot gag the voice of the House.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदया, मामला केवल बोफर्स का नहीं निर्णय देने से पहले आप उसकी सारी परिधि विशाल परिधि का विचार कर लीजिये। बोफर्स में सरकार फंसी हुई है भ्रष्टाचार का मामला है वह बात अलग है, क्षण भर के लिए उसको भूल जाइये। परम्परा यह है (व्यवधान)

श्री विठ्ठलराव माधवराव जाधव (महाराष्ट्र) : माननीय विद्वान सदस्य कह रहे हैं कि सरकार फंसी हुई है इनको क्या अधिकार है कहने का ?

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : आपको क्या अधिकार है कहने का ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैं इस सदन का सदस्य हूं मुझे पूरा अधिकार है।

श्री विठ्ठलराव माधवराव जाधव : अच्छी बातों को भी बुरा कहने की आपकी आदत हो गई है।

श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : महोदया, मैं आपकी इजाजत से बोल रहा हूं।
1.00 P.M. मगर मुझे टोका जा रहा है। महोदया, मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था . . .

श्री विठ्ठलराव माधवराव जाधव : कुछ भी टोकें और हम न कहें यह क्या बात है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर चर्चा के समय सारे मसले उठाने की छूट परम्परा के तौर पर इस संसद में रही है। जो विषय कहीं नहीं आ सकता उसे भी राष्ट्रपति अभिभाषण पर चर्चा के दौरान लाया जा सकता है। बजट पर भी यह बात लागू होती है इसलिए आप कोई ऐसा निर्णय न दें जो कि हमारे इस अधिकार में कटौती करने वाला हो, जो परम्परा को तोड़ने वाला हो।

श्री जसवंत सिंह : माननीया, मेरे दस मिनट चले गये हैं, माफ कीजिए याद दिला रहा हूं।

उपसभापति : जितने मिनट चले गय हैं उतने दे दिये जायें।

श्री जसवंत सिंह : मेरे दस मिनट चले गये हैं।

उपसभापति : वह तो पता नहीं, देखना पड़ेगा।

श्री विठ्ठलराव माधवराव जाधव : ये दस दस मिनट के अलग अलग पाइंट्स और निकाल रहे हैं।

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, before you give your ruling you should see that the procedure and working of this House under rules as well as various conventions established during the last so many years is not disturbed.

The point is, my hon. colleague has mentioned about Bofors and in this very House when the same party was in the opposition benches when Janata was in power, such mentions were usually made during the Budget or President's speech. Such mentions are usually made and they are upheld. I would request you, Madam, not to disturb the convention and right of other Member of this House. We may be here or we may not be here but the conventions of the House will go on for hundreds of years. Let us be fair and I would request my friend, Mr. Bhatia, that I have never heard a decision that a mention of a subject which is before a Parliamentary Committee cannot be made. If it is a *sub judice* matter, then it is different. So, I would request you that the convention should not be disturbed.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: On a point of order, Madam. With great respect to my hon. senior colleague, this is also a convention of this hon. House that a ruling which has been given by the Chair, that ruling stands during that session and subsequent to that session. The ruling is very categorically given in the last session and repeated in this session that since this particular matter is pending before a Committee appointed by the two Houses of Parliament, this matter cannot be a subject matter of discussion at all and this convention must be respected. Otherwise, it will mean that a ruling is good enough in a particular circumstance and it is not good enough in another particular circumstance. With great respect I differ from what the hon. colleague, a very senior colleague, has said and I pray...

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: That ruling was not with relation to the discussion on the President's speech or the Budget speech.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): I draw your kind attention to the fact why the matter that was raised last time was ruled out. It was ruled out under section 47 of the Rules of Procedure of this House, which says and I will read it out for your information. It says: Hon. Members shall not ordinarily ask for information on matters which are under the consideration of a Parliamentary Committee.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: That is about question, that does not apply to the Rashtrapati *bhashan*.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: It is a question put to the Government, to elicit information from us. In a way it is a question to us. Therefore, these questions cannot be raised here.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Does it apply to the discussion on Budget or President's Address?

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Our contention basically is on the basis of the fact that this is a debate on a Motion of Thanks to the Rashtrapati and, therefore, everything under the sun is permitted. This is an important matter pertaining to the developments of last year. So, Bofors cannot be shut out on that. The rule stated by the Minister is applicable only to questions and of that basis we are aware.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: When some matter has been referred to a Joint Parliamentary Committee, can any criticism be levelled against that issue when the Parliamentary Committee has not come out with its report?

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: I have given an example. I have been a member of so many Joint Select Committees on Bills where we differed. For example, the Lokpal Bill Committee. We have a certain approach on the problem of Lokpal and corruption. Does it mean that for three years that the Lokpal Bill Committee has been sitting, no Member of the House can give his views about what should be done about the Lokpal or what should be done about corruption? Similarly, I say, in this case, in the discussion on the President's Address, nothing under the sun can be barred.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please try to understand. I have got some doubts. That is why I am asking. Has the Rashtrapati referred to this point in his speech? (*Interruptions*).

Why are you interrupting? I am asking Mr. Advani.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: All our amendments are worded saying that we join in thanking the Rashtrapati, but regret that there is no mention of what has happened about Bofors so

[Shri Lal K. Advani]

that the entire criticism from the Opposition is directed not against what the Rashtrapati has said, but what the Rashtrapati has omitted to say which we regard as important. Therefore, the fact that there is no mention of Bofors by the Rashtrapati in his address, cannot be made a basis for barring a discussion on Bofors. It is just as the fact that there is no mention in this President's Address of the Government's commitment to cleanse the Government, to cleanse the polity, to root out corruption, to root out black-marketing. Therefore, we raised all these points. I do not want to go into the legal niceties. But basically Bofors cannot be shut out of debate in this House only on the ground that the Committee is considering that matter. That is all.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I am on a point of order, Madam, I may respectfully submit that the issue, in fact, is not one-fold but two-fold. One point falls from you, Madam. When this issue is a subject matter of investigation and enquiry by a Committee constituted by both Houses of Parliament, can anything be said to forestall the findings of that Committee?

Second is that this point was raised, and the ruling was given. Repeated rulings have been given by the Chair of this hon. House that this matter cannot be discussed at all, in any form whatsoever. From the floor of this hon. House, I may respectfully submit, Madam, that those rulings are binding today, and there is no question of going back on those rulings. Those rulings bind us. Those rulings, I respectfully submit, Madam, bind this hon. Chair. There is no question of going back on those rulings. Those rulings are part of the law so far as this hon. House is concerned. Therefore, there is no question of allowing this matter to be raised directly or indirectly in the form of a speech on the President's Address. Otherwise, it will make a mockery of that ruling

श्री जसवंत सिंह: यह न्याय की तराजू है । .... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : आप चाहें, तो इस पर विचार कर लीजिए ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will have to find out what the ruling is because I don't have the ruling before me right now.

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : आप देख लीजिए ।

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: And also the convention.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But, then, that I feel is that this Committee is of a completely different nature, different from a Joint Select Committee or any other committee. This is a Joint Parliamentary Committee of an investigative nature. An enquiry is being asked to be done by this Committee. Secondly, it will not be possible for the Government to reply if any issue is raised here because the Government cannot reply in the absence of the report of the Committee available to the Government. When the Government cannot reply on any issue raised here since it is under the consideration of the Committee, I think, the Member cannot raise this issue.

DR. BAPU KALDATE (Maharashtra): It is not ruling. She said "I am thinking." She feels so.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Therefore, I find out what the ruling is, please don't discuss that, please refrain from that.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): Could we have lunch break now and you look at the ruling and be firm about it?

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : आप पहले देख लीजिए, क्योंकि इसका अर्थ तो यह हुआ कि आगे भी इसका असर होगा । इसीलिए अच्छा है आप घंटे भर में देख लीजिए ।

उपसभापति : नहीं, जरूरी नहीं है बाद में देख लेंगे।

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : अभी सदन की कार्यवाही कल भी चलने वाली है, लेकिन आप गलत परम्पराएं मत स्थापित करें। आज राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर मर्यादा लगाई जा रही है।

(व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : गलत परम्पराएं नहीं स्थापित करनी हैं। इसीलिए मैंने कहा है। ....(व्यवधान) गलत परम्पराएं स्थापित नहीं करनी हैं इसीलिए मैंने कहा है कि रूलिंग देखनी है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आप इन्हें रोकिए मत तब तक ....(व्यवधान)

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : आप पहले घंटे भर में देख लीजिए।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आप सरकार को बचाने के लिए सारी परंपराएं खत्म करेंगी ?

उपसभापति : मैंने उसके लिए, कारण दिया है।

Before that I have given you the reasoning. You cannot say like that. This is a wrong charge. You should not make it. I am very sorry. Mr. Vajpayee I did not expect it from you.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदया मुझे मौका दीजिए।... (व्यवधान) उस कमेटी को बनाने का प्रस्ताव लोक सभा में आया था। लोक सभा में अभी राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर चर्चा हो रही है। उस दिन लोक सभा के एक सदस्य श्री मधु दंडवते ने बोफर्स का जो स्पीकर के विचाराधीन है। उन्हें किसी ने रोका नहीं क्योंकि राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर अब तक चर्चा होती है तो किसी तरह का बंधन नहीं होता सिवाय इसके कि कोई असंसदीय भाषा का उपयोग नहीं करें। जो बात लोक सभा में नहीं हुई वह आप राज्य सभा में करना चाहती हैं।

उपसभापति : नहीं करना चाहती इसीलिए कहा है कि देखना पड़ेगा।

(व्यवधान)

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : अभी आप सदन को घंटे भर के लिए स्थगित कर दीजिए वैसे भी लंच करना है। उसके बाद देख करके जैसा हो कर लीजिए।

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : You can have a break now. It is already about 1.15.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. Instead of breaking at 1.30 for lunch, we have a break right now and will meet at 2.15 p.m.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirteen minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at eighteen minutes past two of the clock, **The Deputy Chairman** in the Chair.

श्री रऊफ वलीउल्लाह (गुजरात) : माननीया, लोक सभा में तीन तारीख के लिए होली की छुट्टी हो गई है। इसलिए यहां भी छुट्टी रहनी चाहिए ....(व्यवधान).... 3 तारीख को लोक सभा की बैठक नहीं है, इसलिए मेहरबानी करके यहां भी डिकलेयर कर दीजिए।

उपसभापति : अच्छा, आप 3 तारीख को होली की छुट्टी मांग रहे हैं, ऐसा मैं समझती हूं, यह हाऊस में चल रही होली को बंद कर दीजिए तो 3 तारीख की छुट्टी कर देते हैं। ...(व्यवधान) तो 3 तारीख को होली के लिए कोई हर्ज नहीं है,

we can have.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT): Madam, may I make a submission? The Rajya Sabha is free to decide not to meet on 3rd. We are not formally taking a decision because of "Holi". All right don't meet, not because of "Holi".

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If the Members decide not to sit on 3rd, we may not sit.

Regarding what Mr. Jaswant Singh was mentioning in the forenoon, he can make a reference in a general way. But he shoul not refer to the specific points which are before the Committee.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Madam Deputy Chairman, I choose now not to refer to Bofors.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is your choice.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: It is the most explicit example of corruption in arms purchases—in procurement of weapons system for the Armed Forces—the obtaining of this medium artillery weapon system for the Indian Army seems to create such turmoil in the Treasury Benches and in this Government that even if I were now to say that Bofors 40 mm ack-ack gun has been in use in the Indian Army for the past 30 years the Treasury Benches are likely to shy, rise in alarm and say, don't use the word 'Bofors'. Madam, so far as Bofors is concerned, explicitly, categorically, even the weapon suppliers themselves have admitted that Rs. 65 crores have been paid and if I, as a Member of this Parliament, an inhibited in expressing my concern about the payment of Rs. 65 crores only because the Joint Parliamentary Committee is enquiring into it, then I do believe that a substantial purpose of own Parliament is going to be lost. If by mentioning it withing the House, I am going to compromise the functioning of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, then what about the Prime Minister publicly announcing even before the Joint Parliamentary Committee has given its finding that 'no Indian is involved'? How is that not a compromise of the Joint Parliamentary Committee? You take objection to my mentioning the very word 'Bofors' because you are frightened of your own shadows. What about the HDW submarine? What about the assurances given in this House and the other House? What about the fact that the Bundestag, the German Parliament has itself admitted a uestion and has replied that payments of this nature are routine? What about the assurances given in this House and the other House that an enquiry will be instituted into the submarine scandal, where it is believed that Rs. 70 crores have been paid? What about the enquiry which was entrusted administratively to the care of..... *(Interruption)*.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): In a question, it has been admitted that the enquiry is over and report has been received.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: My esteemed colleague, Mr. Parvathaneni Upendra informs me that a Parliament answer has admitted that the enquiry is over. There is an assurance in this House of Shri K. C. Pant, hon. Defence Minister. There is an assurance from the Prime Minister that as soon as the enquiry is over, we shall discuss it in the Parliament. Where is that enquiry? Why have you not brought it to the House? Why are you frightened to these lurking shadows in your cupboard? The point is not this alone, Madam, because corruption is not just in arms trade. There is corruption financial, there is corruption political and there is corruption moral. Just the other day, we were informed in this House by a new Minister, as a Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance, who is a personal friend of mine and whom I hold in high esteem that a certain gentleman, who is a family friend of the Prime Minister has now sought the status of a non-resident Indian. Shri Ajitbh Bachan against whom were was a question on the opening day of this House and about whose activities, the whole nation is concerned, we are no winformed that he has sought a non-resident status so

far as his shenanigans abroad are concerned. Merely because, it was then emphasised, merely because he is a friend of the Prime Minister, it must not appear as if justice is not being done and as if law will not apply. We were then informed in the House by the Treasury Benches that this will not be so and that the law shall apply equally to everybody. And if the law is to apply equally to everybody, then what answer has the Government got to the following questions so far as Mr. Ajitabh Bachchan's activities go? Firstly, when he has sought an NRI status retrospectively, then between so seeking an NRI status and now, how does he continue to have Indian bank balances, in Indian rupees, in Indian banks both in Delhi and in Bombay? And I can read out the names of the banks concerned also, Madam? How does he, when he comes to India, after he has sought a NRI's status spend money in Indian rupee to meet his expenses? Thirdly, how does he continue to be a Director on Indian Companies? And fourthly, most amazingly, after seeking an NRI status, Shri Ajitabh Bachchan comes to India to go abroad and draws 500 dollars under the Foreign Travel Scheme? This is an amazing situation You say that law will apply equally to everybody. A declared NRI, who is seeking NRI status flouts all rules, flouts all laws. He even goes to the extent of drawing 500 dollars under FTS and the Reserve Bank of India says, the Company was unaware; therefore, retrospectively we are going to rectify all this situation. If laws are a convenience, to be applied selectively, merely on account of your vicinity or distance from the Prime inister, then I would repeat what I said when I started, that India is not the fieldom of a single individual. Laws made in India are for the Union of India and not for the convenience of idividuals. If you reduce the governance of India to personal cronyism...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Jaswant Singh, would you yield for a moment? Why are you making these allegations? The Minister himself has categorically stated, on the authority of the Prime Minister, that the law will take its own course. These are all allegations. What you are saying now are allegations. I do not think my party and my Government will hesitate even a little to take whatever legel action is necessary. (*Interruptions*) These are wild allegations.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Madam Deputy Chairman, I am not making allegations, I am charging and they are not wild charges. They are specific and they are to the point. I am not reassured by my elder colleague opposite, Shri A. G. Kulkarni, saying that the law will take its own course because demonstratively, in the last three years, if there is one thing that exemplifies this Government, it is the fact that law applies only selectively, and that law does not take its own course. Here is the prime example, the case of Ajitabh Bachchan. There is another unsavoury, very unsavoury, gentleman, who does not inspire me. He claims to be a kind of *tantric*. You are frightened by his shadow also You think that he is in possession of such *tantric vidya* that he is going to unseat your Government He is called some kind of Chandraswamy. This gentleman. (*Interruptions*)... made exactly the same charges. The hon. Minister here says that we are not impounding Ajitabh Bachchan's passport because he is cooperating with us. And you impound this questionable individual, Chandraswamy's passport because he is cooperating with you and if that is not selective application of law, I do not know which is selective application of law. Mark my words Appa Saheb. You might turn your back to me, but this is selective application of law, this individual treatment, as if India belongs to certain individuals alone and we, who sit in this House or the large population outside, do not belong to India, or have no right of seeking legal redress from India, and that its laws will not apply to them equally—if you reduce India to that level, you might continue to sit in chairs of office but you will command neither respect nor authority, and history will condemn you.

We do not have to say all these things, we do not have to condemn you because

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

events themselves are judging you, events are already condemning you. I have said, Madam, that there is corruption of the commercial kind, financial kind; there is corruption of the political kind. A prime example of corruption of the political and moral kind is the recently witnessed hoax of an election in Meghalaya. Out of a House of 60,22 seats are obtained by the Congress party. The total number of votes obtained by the Congress party is 189,000. The regional parties obtained 275,000 and independents 105,000. Barely thirty per cent of the popular vote has gone to these 22 candidates. On the strength of these 22 candidates, in total flouting of the Anti-Defection Act, which you put across to us as one of your primary responsibilities in cleansing India's political and public life, five members are sworn in as Ministers. On the one hand you have the anti-defection law and on the other you encourage defection. Where is that anti-defection law? It is a Central legislation. The Government in Meghalaya is a Government which is based on illegality and selective application of laws. Yesterday despite....

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: (Pondicherry) Madam, on a point of information....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Just one clarification from the honourable Member. Jaswantji said that the anti-defection laws have been flouted...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Why are you worried about that? Please sit down. The Minister will reply to it.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I will take only one minute. He should satisfy the House how the Act has been flouted by the Congress-I. He cannot make allegations.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Tomorrow the Prime Minister will reply. Leave it to the Prime Minister. You need not assume the role of Prime Minister.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Madam, I would happily answer every interruption...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no; you continue with your speech.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: My respectful submission to you, Madam, is 15 minutes of my allotted time had been eaten before we had broken for lunch and now again these interruptions are taking away my time. I would, therefore, request you to bear in mind this aspect before ringing your bell terminating my speech...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am giving you more time.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I was saying the Government of Meghalaya, the so-called Government of Meghalaya, is an example...

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI (Assam): Why so-called?

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): As far as we are concerned, it is so called.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I shall so call it, the so-called Government of Meghalaya, with barely 30 per cent of the votes, comprising defectors against whom you are not ready to apply the anti-defection law because it is a political convenience to you, is an example. In Tamil Nadu when the same selective application of the anti-defection laws goes against you, you rise up in arms, you dismiss the Governor who has acted exactly as you wanted him to act; you dismiss him peremptorily in a state...

SHRI HARVENDRA SINGH HANSPAL (Punjab): How can he say that the Governor has been dismissed in Tamil Nadu? How can he say such * here? Is it correct?

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): It amounted to dismissal. (*Interruption*) You cannot put your words in Jaswant Singh's mouth.

SHRI HARVENDRA SINGH HANSPAL: Why are you putting words into his mouth?

*Expunged as ordered by the chair.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Madam I would not quibble about the use of an unparliamentary word which I am sure it is unwittingly that my esteemed colleague, Hanspalji, used—the word * is unparliamentary...

SHRI HARVENDRA SINGH HANSPAL: I am sorry, I withdraw that word. I only meant you have no right to say that the Governor has been dismissed.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: The Treasury Benches would have me believe that the Governor, the ex-Governor, of Tamil Nadu, Shri Khurana, was not dismissed. They would prefer my not using it that way—the Government who wanted him to act in Tamil Nadu as he did, after finding that what they had done in Tamil Nadu was inconvenient, was a political mistake, dismissed him. It is an incredible situation—you apply your law selectively only where it is convenient to you and you apply it in a manner which is not even graceful. Please mark my words. I started saying, unless you have virtue and public righteousness, in Government you might continue sitting where you are sitting, but you will not govern this nation. In Tripura we have another example of unadulterated use of State apparatus to win an election in Tripura. I, having had the honour of wearing uniform ,take strong objection to the fact that the army was sent to Tripura without the consent of the Government of Tripura on the eve or before the polling took place. The army was employed in a political role—this was tantamount to a political role—and I know Tripura and the employment of the army there from personal experience. The employment of the army in Tripura is yet another example of the continuing chain of misemployment of the armed forces for setting right the gross political wrongs of this Government. The more you do this, the more you are going to weaken, and destroy finally the sole remaining institution of this country with any moral authority and legitimacy. I would like to warn this Government that the manner in which it is employing the defence forces is goiwng to destroy this institution as well. And this is in consonance with your overall philosophy of governance, "Everything that belongs to the State is mine.", and that "mine" is that you have obliterated the difference between your party and the Government, between the Government and the nation, and, therefore, you believe that because you are the ruling party, everything that is of this country is yours. It is not so and the earlier you give up this philosophy, this thesis of employment of the Union of India as your personal fiefdom, the better it will be because, otherwise, history will never forgive you.

Madam, we had heard in the rush of the Rashtrapati's Abhibhashan, accounts of the supposedly excellent work done by this Government. I am constrained to say that I do not agree because I hold that this Government is not only a *tamasha*, but it is a Government for *tamasha*... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is unparliamentary.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I beg your pardon.... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is unparliamentary.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Then I withdraw it.....(*Interruptions*).....

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: '*Tamasha*' is parliamentary... (*Interruptions*).

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: यह मराठी तमाशा नहीं है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. It is unparliamentary... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Whatever it is, Madam, what he said is unparliamentary... (*Interruptions*)...

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : यह बात सही है कि यह हिन्दी का तमाशा है।

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I will accept what you say, Madam. If you say that it is unparliamentary, I will not use it.... (*Interruptions*)....Madam, I will accept what you say. I do not say that this Government is, what you call, a *tamasha* if the word '*tamasha*' is unparliamentary and I will not use it... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Madam, the ruling in this book refers to the Legislative Assembly of Maharashtra where the word '*tamasha*' has a slightly, only slightly, uncomplimentry meaning. But so far as Hindi is concerned, it merely means an extravagant spectacle.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But let him say that.

SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG: Then this is 'English *tamasha*'!....(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: If it is not a 'Marathi *tamasha*', then it is an 'English *tamasha*'! (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEUTY CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jaswant Singh, if you want to use the word, you may use it. But then it is unparliamentary.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Madam, this Government has reduced itstlf to a farce and to a farcical drama because of what is specialises in. What does it specialise in? Last year, it specialised in a public dispute with the President of this Republic. This year it inaugurates the year with a public dispute with the Vice-President of the Republic. This Government specialises in the midnight election of Chief Ministers where, at one o'clock at night, the Congress Legislature Party members of the Assembly concerned, some forty or fifty MLAs out of 200 or 180 or 160 MLAs, meet and elect suddenly their *nath sabedar*! What does this Government do? This Government specialises in moving from the Andamans to Lakshdweep. The Andamans Lakshadweep have now become the symbols of the wastefulness and the farcicality of this Government's subscription to the plight of the poor. What does this Government do? This Government demonstrates its governing ability by offering Reliance Cricket or Parley Runs! What does this Government do? This Government has reduced itself to a lobbyist for the industrial houses like Reliance and Parle, for their highly exaggerated and media-built damas of cricket and run *tamasha*.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Yesterday you have seen in the Budget. For whom this Government is? Kindly refer to that also.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: What does the Government do? This Government is a Government for festivals in India and out India—*Utsav apne parai*. This Government thinks that governance of India is merely having *utsavs*, whether in India or outside India. This Government talks of the 21st centurv. It talks of mobile telephones when telephones in the capital do not work. It talks of the 21st century when large parts of India have not entered the 19th century. This Government comprises of Ministers with office but no authoritv and of cronies without office but all the authority! This Government does not recognize deaths but it engages in helicopter trips. This Government is for the Prime Minister, not for India. This Prime inister, then, Madam, is primarily for himself, thereafter only for some of his friends and onlv then for India. This Government wears dark glasses, because the light of truth and daylight disturb you. And because this Government wears dark glasses, this Government will remain in the dark. It cannot bring light to our lives. It cannot bring light to India.

Madam, a word only about this Government's conduct of foreign policy. We are today engaged with two principal issues in the sub-continent, in two diverse parts of the sub-contintnt: Afghanistan and

Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka is an example of some dubious firsts. One, for the first time the Indian Army is employed on foreign soil. Two, for the first time the Indian Army is under foreign political control. Three, for the first time the Indian Army does not really know whom it is fighting, who is its enemy. Four, for the first time the Indian Army is employed in Sri Lanka without national consensus on its employment. And I would like to caution the treasury benches that consensus is not conformity merely because you want consensus around and you want us to conform mindlessly, that would not be a consensus. Consensus is born out of consultations—And if you do not consult, if consultation does not take place, there would be no cooperation, and without cooperation and consultation, there will be no consensus.

Look at Afghanistan. Now, here is Afghanistan where we have seen a demonstration of Government searching for its Afghani policy through telephone calls. The Prime Minister of this country makes a telephone call to the President of Pakistan, in search of our Afghan policy. It sends an emissary to Rome to attempt, to resurrect king Zahir Shah so that Zahir Shah could go and replace a post-Soviet-withdrawal Afghanistan. For the last decade, the country's Afghanistan policy got identified and remained groved in certain channels. Those channels were of immobility. Those channels were of lack of thought. No one in this Government considered—despite it becoming apparent months ago that a situation would arise when Soviet Union would withdraw—that when the Soviet Union actually withdraws from that country what would be the role that India could possibly play in Afghanistan. I am saddened, Madam, to say that as against that we today find our Government caught without any Afghanistan policy. We are trying to search for that policy by sending hon. Natwar Singhji to Rome and by our Prime Minister telephoning the Pakistan President. You do not find a policy through telephone calls. I charge this Government of gross dereliction of its responsibility, in not having thought out the consequences of Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and being caught today in a humiliating situation wherein the Prime Minister telephones the Pakistan President inviting him in such a situation, on the eve of the talks in Geneva, and we in India have to face the humiliation of the President of Pakistan turning down that invitation. That turning down of that invitation is not merely exemplifying the lack of an Indian policy on Pakistan. It is also exemplifying Pakistan's treatment of this Government. If a country like Pakistan can treat the Government of India like this, I am humiliated as an Indian and it stuns me that there is not one amongst the Treasury Benches who, during the last three days, had the guts to stand up and say that we have proved a failure insofar as our foreign policy is concerned. Madam, I do not wish to anticipate your ringing the bell.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am giving you more time because you said that your time was wasted. I promised you and, therefore, I am giving you more time.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I am touched by the consideration and I shall be eternally grateful.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You need not be eternally grateful.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Madam Deputy Chairman, the list of this Government's gross dereliction of duty, of a total lack of direction, of a total absence of righteousness in public conduct, of being totally devoid of virtues so far as their attitude of governance goes, I can recount endlessly. Such is not the intention of this debate. Such indeed would not be my purpose because it would depress me so much that my participation in the debate would be rendered into a nullity.

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

I had started by quoting from Rashtrapati Ji's own words. I started by saying that he has put across to us a certain vision of India. I shall conclude by saying that there is a great difference between that vision of India and the reality. Whereas the President talks of the invulnerability of our nation, Siachin in the North and Wang Dong and Sundarong Chu in the East belie that; whereas the President talks of democracy, secularism and socialism, none of these obtain in the country. Our society stands fragmented as never before. He talked of social justice when we have police rapes daily. We have the Jodhpur detenus about whom I spoke just the other day. The President talked of technology coming to the alleviation of poverty whereas in my home district there are deaths on account of hunger and malnutrition. The President talked of clean environment whereas dust and smog meet us every evening in Delhi. He talks of religions and cultures flourishing in harmony when Ram Janam Bhoomi and Babri Masjid tear the whole of the nation apart. Madam, I will conclude by saying just one sentence which I had said even at the beginning. The President's Address is like a state of the Union message. When we engaged in this debate, we point out what our worries are, what our fears are, where we feel that the Government has failed. Our fears and our worries might be termed as parochial, but they are rooted in a very profound concern for the unity of this poor and benighted India.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to support this Motion of Thanks moved by our very esteemed senior colleague in regard to the Address by the President to both the Houses of Parliament. As a matter of fact, I had no intention to participate in this debate. But after listening to the speech made by the hon. Memebr preceding me, I thought that I should intervene to say a few words.

The Vice-Chairman (Shri H. Hanumanthappa) in the chair.

The hon. Member opened his speech by telling homilies on righteousness and virtue. He belongs to a political party which has no compunction and shame in stealing the political slogans of the ruling party and misleading the people by talking of Gandhian socialism in which it does not believe. It believes neither in Gandhism nor in socialism and it seeks to hoodwink the Indian people by talking of Gandhian socialism. Is this a demonstration of virtue and righteousness of the party to which he belongs? He talks of virtue and righteousness of the Government and the ruling party and he talks of communalism. Would he give an answer why this particular party is being treated as a political leper of India by all the Opposition parties? The entire Opposition in this country is insisting on treating the party to which he belongs as the political leper of India. But this party has no shame in projecting itself and treating itself as if it is the call-girl of Indian politics. It is ready to embrace any party irrespective of any ideology provided it is pulled out of the wilderness to which it has been thrown and in which it has remained for 40 years after the independence of the country.....

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): It is not correct.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA:...except for a brief period of three years where they had to ride the band-wagon of other political parties. And what happened to them? If there is, Sir, one political party which has completely polluted the Indian politices by utter hypocrisy and chincanery. It is the party to which he belongs.

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): Will the hon. Member yield to me for a while?

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: I never interrupted you. Please do not interrupt me. I have not referred to your speech. *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): He is not yielding.

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH (Bihar): Is he speaking on BJP or is he speaking on the President's Address? *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Mr. Baby, please sit down. He is not yielding.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Sir, he has criticised the presence of the Indian Forces is Sri Lanka, He has criticised the action taken by the Government with regard to Sri Lanka. It is this attitude which made India slave for centuries. It is this attitude which was responsible for the hordes of foreign invaders crossing the Khyber Pass and reaching the plains of Panipat without any interruption by the ancestors of our own in this country. It is because our ancestors showed the utter complacency that these marauding horders were able to cross the Khyber Pass and reach the plains of Panipat without any interruption and intervention by the people of India. And to criticise this accord and to criticise the action of the Government in intervening in Sri Lanka will be nothing but a repetition of this complacency of our ancestors which I respectfully submit would be nothing but a point of disaster so far as the security of India is concerned. I respectfully submit, Sir, that they may have all the political differences with us in the world, and they are welcome to have them. But we are all Indians. One British Prime Minister once said that the frontiers of Great Britain lie in Belgium. I shall remind the hon. Member who has preceded me and the party to which he belongs that he should not forget that the southern frontiers of India lie in Sri Lanka. The security of India is vitally concerned with what happens in Sri Lanka apart from the fact that India is fighting there for the rights of millions of Tamil people and for the unity and integrity of India.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: What do your mean by that? Is Sri Lanka a part of India?

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Sir, he talks about Afghanistan. I respectfully submit, Sir, the most momentous development which is taking place today concerning the security of India is of the events which concerns Afghanistan today. And the most vital and the important sentence in this address by the President is "We will work together with them". This is with regard to Afghanistan, in order to ensure the status of Afghanistan as a "sovereign, independent and non-aligned country." And he says: here is a Government which formulates its policies through telephones. Does he realise what has been India's foreign policy with regard to this particular region over the last 40 years? One of the most vital and important planks of Indian foreign policy was to defeat the pernicious attempts and efforts which were being made by Pakistan to create a solid block of Muslim countries against India and it was the non-aligned and neutral role of Afghanistan which was ensured by the policy which was followed by India. Now that the Soviet troops are going to withdraw from Afghanistan once against Pakistan is on the scene to fish in the troubled waters and the entire effort of Pakistan is to instal a puppet regime of fundamentalists in Afghanistan. Will it not affect the security of India in the future to a very vital extent, I ask the hon. Member. Has he answered this question? It is very easy to stand from the floor of this hon. House and indulge in bombastic verbiage against the ruling party. But has he shown any single awareness, even the slightest awareness about the security of India so far as the happenings in Afghanistan, are concerned? What is the policy of India with regard to Afghanistan? The policy of India is very clear that India cannot be indifferent to the future political set up in Afghanistan, that India cannot be indifferent to the efforts of Pakistan to instal a puppet regime of a fundamental character in Afghanistan. That is why this Presidential address says that we will work together with them to ensure the status of Afghanistan as a sovereign independent and non-aligned country. That is the plank of India's foreign policy. That has been the plank of India's foreign policy for the last 40 years. That has been the plank of India's foreign policy as a result of which the pernicious efforts of Pakistan to create a solid block of Muslim countries against India has been defeated. What is Pakistan? Pakistan was conceived by imperialism. Pakistan is the child of imperialism. Pakistan was brought into existence by imperiasm. And it will be a travesty of history not to expect that Pakistan will be fed, nourished and nurtured by imperialism. Paikstan has no strategic perceptions. Pak-

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

istan has only one single-minded aim of communal animosity against India and the desire to humble India and it is in pursuance of this policy that Pakistan today is bent upon installing a puppet regime of fundamentalists in Afghanistan and India has to defeat this effort.

If the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs was sent by the hon. Prime Minister to Rome to have a meeting with the former King, if the emissary was sent by the hon. Prime Minister to Kabul to have talks with the Kabul regime, if the talk was had by the hon. Prime Minister with Mr. Zia-ul-Haq in Islamabad, what was the purpose of this? The purpose of this was to register with the world and Pakistan in particular that India is an interested party, that India cannot be indifferent to the machinations of Pakistan in Afghanistan. I do not say that Zia-ul-Haq will agree or that it was anticipated that he would agree. It was a strong diplomatic initiative having large and wide ranging repercussions to register with Pakistan that we are not indifferent spectators and what happens in Afghanistan is equally a concern of ours. We have registered, the hon. Prime Minister has registered this fact and has given notice to Pakistan with regard to this concern of India by these diplomatic moves. If we have any concern for the security of India, if we have any concern for the future of India, so far as this region is concerned, let us give a hand of acclaim to the hon. Prime Minister who has risen to the challenge and has understood the shape of things to come if India is kept napping and takes no initiative in this regard. On the other hand, I except — I would have rather expected from the entire Opposition to give a hand of support as a national support to the hon. Prime Minister for all the initiatives that the hon. Prime Minister has taken in regard to Afghanistan.

3 P.M.

Sir, the hon. Member has said that this is a Government which is a personalised government; this is a Government which is not concerned with the people of the country. Has he gone to the villages of India where millions of people were going to starve but for the tremendous efforts put forth by this Government in order to provide economic relief to the drought-striken in all the four corners of the country? Has he said even a single word of sympathy for those people? He has not, because he has no face. Millions of people would have starved in this country; millions of people would have gone without any work in this country; lakhs or thousands or hundreds of them would have died of starvation, but for the tremendous steps taken by this ruling party, the Government, with regard to relief given to millions of people in the drought-stricken parts of the country. Probably he has not seen the faces of those people because he belongs to the party which is not concerned with the poor people; he belongs to the party whose slogan is nothing but replete with entire communal poison and communalism. And he has the temerity to talk of communalism. What has been the record of his party for the last forty years? He says it is a personalised government. Indirectly, he is talking about Tripura, he is talking about Centre-State relations in that regard...

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र (बिहार) : माननीय सदस्य प्रेजीडेंट्स अड्रेस पर भाषण देने के लिए खड़े हुए हैं कि बी० जे० पी० को गाली देने के लिए खड़े हुए हैं ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): There is no point of order.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: This party, he says ... *(Interruptions)*.

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : बी० जे० पी० पर अगर बहस करनी है, तो चुनौती स्वीकार करें और पर्याप्त समय बहस करने के लिए दें ।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : महोदय, यह सचमुच में बहुत आब्जेक्शनेबल है । वह केवल एक पार्टी के बारे में ही डाइरेक्ट बोल रहे हैं ।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : यह सरकार की प्रशंसा कर सकते हैं कि हमारी सरकार ने यह किया, वह किया, पर यह किसी पार्टी के बारे में ऐसे नही कह सकते ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री एच० हनुमन्तप्पा) : जो बोलते हैं, उनको सुनने के लिए भी तैयार रहना चाहिए । यह पार्लियामेंट्री डिबेट है । आर्डर आर्डर ।

ठाकुर जगतपाल सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश): कांग्रेस पार्टी तो सरकार की पार्टी है, इसलिए हम कह सकते हैं ।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : अगर बहस बी० जे० पी० के ऊपर करनी है, तो मुझे स्वीकार है ।

श्री पवन कुमार बांसल : वही तो वह बता रहे हैं कि आप क्या है । ..... (व्यवधान)

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : आप पार्टी पर बहस कर रहे हैं कि सरकार पर बहस कर रहे है ।

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Sir, he talks of virtue, righteousness, honesty, dignity, and so on. Will I remind the hon. Member of the kind of dignity which was shown by his party and his leaders when Telugu Desam came into power in 1982 or 1983? When Telugu Desam came into power, the leader of that party struck the country with a new politics, the politics of conclaves. It is his party and his leader... (*Interruptions*).

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: He is talking irrelevant things.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : महोदया, चोर को चोर ही दिखाई देता है ।

श्री पवन कुमार बांसल : वह आपको यही तो बता रहे हैं । . . . (व्यवधान)

SHRI MADAN BHATIA: Hungry for power after having remained in the wilderness from which they had no hope to get out. They made a beeline to Vijayawada to pay obesiance to the new messiah of theirs who, according to them, had risen on the political horizon to take them out of the widerness. This was their sense of confidence in their own ideology. This was their sense of political dignity. This was the conduct of the leaders of his party and other parties in 1983 when the conclave took place. What happened to that politics of conclaves? Within less than a year, it vanished into thin air from which it had appeared on the horizon of India. What is the position today? The party to which he belongs is knocking at the doors of each and every political party asking them 'Please take me back'. That is why I said that it is insisting on treating itself as the call-girl of Indian politics.

"Sir, I would respectfully submit that the most vital aspect in the President's Address is the defence of India. What is the defence environment around the country today? Look at what is happening across the border, in Pakistan. Why did we intervene in Sri Lanka? Look at what is happening in Afghanistan. He had not a word to say about the security and the defence of India. I can understand why he is silent; because the political party to which he belongs has the moral and ideological affiliation with one country which is mostly responsible for pumping in massive armaments into Pakistan. He remained enigmatically silent on the happenings in so far as Pakistan is concerned.

"Sir, there are two particular doctrines governing the defences of a country. One is the defensive doctrine and the other is the retaliatory doctrine. So far as the defensive doctrine is concerned, it means that the defences of the entire country are so built up that if there is any aggression, the defence forces will be able to beat back the aggression. But so far the retaliatory doctrine forces of the country are so built up, are built up so strongly, that if there is any aggression, the defence forces of the country will have the power and the means to take the offensive and destroy the military machine of the aggressor altogether. It goes to the credit of our hon. Prime Minister that the entire defences of the country today are being shaped on the basis of the retaliatory doctrine. Unless and until India has the means and will to destroy the military

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

machine of Pakistan altogether in case of leaders and the rulers of Pakistan choose to get entangled with India, there will be no peace in the sub-continent. The acquisition of the nuclear submarine, the acquisition of the anti-aircraft carrier, the development of the surface-to-surface missile and various other steps; what do they indicate? They indicate this perception of the hon. Prime Minister that the defences of this country have to be shaped on the basis of the retaliatory doctrine. I will give only one historical example. The defences of the Soviet Union, prior to the Second World War, were prepared and shaped on the basis of the defensive doctrine. Because of this, the Soviet Union had to pay a very high price during the Second World War in beating back the aggressor. After the Second World War, the Soviet Union switched on to the retaliatory doctrine.

He talks about corruption in the defence forces. Did he have a single word to say about what happened, to what extent the defences of the country have been built up under the leadership of the Prime Minister? He has the temerity to talk about corruption in the defence forces of the the country? Does he know the extent to which the defences of the country have been built up in the last three years? He did not have a word to say about it. He only indulges in rhetoric and verbiage. It may be good enough for publication in the newspapers, but this is nothing but, I respectfully submit, totally misleading of this hon. House.

Sir, he talks about the Anti-defection Bill so far as Meghalaya is concerned. Which provision of the Anti-defection Bill or the anti-defection provision of the Constitution has been flouted by formation of the Government in Meghalaya by the Congress (I) party in collaboration with independents or one or two other parties? Where is the defection? What is he talking about? Let him name a single clause of that particular provision to show that this particular clause has been flouted. Otherwise, he should stop misleading this hon. House.

I submit, Sir, that the tremendous welfare programmes which have been undertaken by this Government under the leadership of the hon. Prime Minister in the last two-three years for the uplift of the backward classes, the Harijans, the Scheduled Castes, the tribals and the weaker sections, he has not a word to say about that because that is not his constituency, his constitutency is not the Harijans, his constituency is not the weaker sections of the people, his constituency or the constituency of his party is not the Scheduled Tribes or the tribals or the poor people of this country, his constituency is entirely different, as a result of which the party to which he belongs has remained in utter wilderness for the last 40 years. It hopes to come into power. Sometimes, it talks of Gandhian socialism, sometimes it talks of humanism. What is humanism? What is it? But the same kind of verbiage he has uttered on the floor of this House. is there any political party whose ideology is described by the expression 'humanism'? Is there any political party which says; no, we don't believe in humanism. we are an inhuman political party. This is nothing but sheer political nonsense.

I respectfully submit, Sir, that this is the time when the people of this country should be taken seriously which the party to which he belongs and the other opposition parties are not caring about. The only weapon on which they have been relying for the last 20 years since the days of Indiraji when she raised the slogan in this country of *garibi hatao* is the weapon of character assassination and nothing else, because they know that they cannot beat back or defeat the Congress party on the basis of political ideology. They realise this. Therefore, their only fond hope—and I say it is a mirage—is to mislead the people of this country by resorting to this pernicious political weapon of character assassination of the leader of the ruling party the Congress party I challenge them to take on the Congress Party on the basis of political ideology. I challenge them to take on the Congress Party on the basis of the work, the tremendous welfare work which the Congress Party has done over the last 40 years for the Indian people. I challenge them to

emulate what the Congress party in this country has done in the field of industry, in the field of agriculture, in the field of exports, in the welfare programmes for the people, for the weaker and poor sections of the people, in the field of education. I challenge them to do so. They won't be able to meet this challenge, they cannot meet this challenge. Therefore the only weapon to which they resort again and over again is the pernicious weapon of character assassination.

They talk of democracy. What is democracy? The most fundamental postulate of democracy is that if a Government is elected by the people, that Government will be allowed to have its full run for the period for which it is elected. This is the constitutional mandate and the constitutional postulate, but what do they do? Less than a year goes after the elections and they start demonstrations in the streets and start shouting from the housetops that the party should resign. Where do they get this right from to clamour for the resignation of a duly elected government which has been given a mandate by the people to rule this country for a period of five years? If this government goes wrong, you will have your chance after a period of five years. But for God's sake, have some respect for the Constitution, in the name of which you have taken the oath while occupying the seat in this hon'ble House.

With these words, Sir, I support this Motion. Thank you.

डा० बापू कालदाते : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हिंदी में कहावत है, ऐसे दोस्तों से हमारा बचाव करें। मेरे पहले जिन सम्माननीय सदस्य ने भाषण किया है, मैं कांग्रेस के उन सम्माननीय सदस्यों को कहूंगा कि मेहरबानी करके वे ऐसे दोस्तों से बचकर रहिए। ये दोस्त आपकी सेवा नहीं करेंगे, शायद आपको ज्यादा-से-ज्यादा खतरे में डालने का प्रयास करेंगे। तो यह अच्छा रहेगा कि इन दोस्तों से आप सब लोग बच सकें।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो प्रश्न सम्मानित सदस्यों ने उपस्थित किए हैं, खासकर हमारी तरफ से, मैं उनके बारे में चर्चा नहीं करना चाहता, लेकिन जिनका जिक्र मैं अत्यावश्यक मानता हूं उन्हीं के सन्दर्भ में सदन का ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूं। मैं आपको गए साल के राष्ट्रपति महोदय के अभिभाषण में से एक पाइंट पढ़कर सुनाना चाहता हूं और सदन का ध्यान इसकी तरफ खींचना चाहता हूं कि जिन बुनियादी सवालों पर आपके द्वारा हम लोगों को आश्वस्त किया गया है उन पर आज तक इस सरकार ने कुछ भी कार्यवाही नहीं की है। मुझे तो कभी-कभी यह लगता है कि हर साल राष्ट्रपति के यहां आने की जो शोभा यात्रा हम मनाते हैं इस शोभा यात्रा के अलावा इससे कोई फल हमें नहीं मिलता है। ऐसा मुझे लगता है और यदि शोभा यात्रा न निकले तो कोई ज्यादा फर्क पड़नेवाला नहीं है।

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): It is a constitutional obligation. The President shall address both Houses of Parliament.

डा० बापू कालदाते : ओब्लीगेशन, ठीक है। मैं कहता हूं कि इसकी जरूरत मुझे महसूस नहीं हो रही है।

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: You change the Constitution.

DR. BAPU KALDATE: That is a different matter.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: You cannot go against a constiutional obligation.

डा० बापू कालदाते : मैं इस बात को कहता हूं कि आपका इतना बहुमत है तो आप इसको मेहरबानी करके बदल डालिए, तो ठीक होगा। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, लास्ट इयर का जो राष्ट्रपति जी का अभिभाषण है, उसमें ये कहा गया है कि—

[डा० बापू कालदाते]

"The basic structure of our electoral system has stood the test of time. It has ensured free and fair elections to Parliament and State Legislatures and has ensured free and fair elections to such by the whole world. Based on the report of the Chief Election Commissioner of 1986, Government have formulated certain suggestions, which are to be discussed with the various political parties and also thrown open to public debate. Necessary..."

I just emphasise this point,

"...legislation will be initiated, as in the past, on the basis of consensus evolving from such discussions".

मैं इसलिए इसकी तरफ आपका ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूं कि, इस सदन में बार-बार इस पर बहस हो गयी है कि चुनाव सुधार अत्यंत आवश्यक है क्योंकि यह भी कहा गया है कि आज की चुनाव पद्धति में "मेन पावर, मसल पावर और मनी पावर" – ये तीन "एम" महत्वपूर्ण रोल अदा करते हैं इस बारे में किसी के मन में शक नहीं है। आपको यह भी मालूम है जिसमें आप स्वयं एक बार इसमें सहयोगी रहे हैं जब हमारे नेता श्री गुरुपादस्वामी जी ने इलेक्टोरल रिफार्म्स के बारे में यहां एक बहस उठायी थी। उसमें आप भी सहभागी रहे हैं।

प्रो० सी० लक्ष्मन्ना : और एक मिनिस्टर पावर भी है।

डा० बापू कालदाते : फिर तो ये चार हो गए। मैं इसलिए यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यह बहस आज की नहीं है। बहुत साल गुजर गए हैं। कई सालों से यह बहस चलती रही है कि चुनाव सुधार इस देश में अत्यावश्यक हो रहे हैं और जिस ढंग से यह सरकार काम कर रही है – चाहे मेघालय में हो, त्रिपुरा में हो, तेलगु-देशम सरकार को ध्वस्त करने में हो इसको देखकर यह अत्यावश्यक लगता है चुनाव में सुधार होना यह 85 में भी कहा गया, 86 में भी कहा गया, लेकिन आज मुझे लग रहा है कि इस अभिभाषण में इसका कोई जिक्र नहीं है। एक तो सरकार भूल गयी है इस बात को जो आश्वासन आप सदन को देते है और सदन के द्वारा सारे देश को देते है उन को आप भूल गये हैं और चुनाव के बारे में न कोई सुधार की नीति न कोई वक्तव्य, न कोई लेजिस्लेशन, आप सदन के सामने कुछ भी नहीं ला रहे हैं। हम ने बार-बार कहा था और कई ढंग के सुझाव बहस के दौरान सदन में दिये गये थे ; हमारी खास मांग यह रही है कि चुनाव में 18 साल की उम्र के लोगों को मताधिकार मिलना चाहिए। हम उस को बहुत आवश्यक मानते हैं। हम जब 18 साल के थे उस समय और आज के 18 साल के नौजवानों के परसेप्शन में, उन की इंटेलीजेंस में, उन की दुनिया को देखने की क्षमता में बड़ा भारी अंतर पड़ गया है। वह रोज एक नयी दुनिया देखते हैं, सुनते हैं, जो हम ने कभी नहीं देखी थी, न समझी थी। कई ऐसी बातें हो चुकी हैं दुनिया में कि जब सारी दुनिया के नौजवानों के मन में एक नयी उमंग, नयी अपेक्षाओं और नयी आकांक्षाओं और प्रेरणाओं से भर गये हैं। हम मानते हैं कि अगर इस देश को सही रास्ते पर ले जाना है तो इस युवा शक्ति को बाहर रख कर हम देश को आगे नहीं ले जा सकेंगे। इसके लिये हम बराबर मांग करते रहे हैं। जब महाराष्ट्र में हमारी सरकार थी तो हम में यह फैसला किया था कि जो स्थानीय स्वराज्य संस्थायें हैं, जिला परिषदें हैं उन में और आज भी महाराष्ट्र में 18 साल के लड़के चुनाव में मतदान के लिये जाते थे। आज भी कर्नाटक में जहां कि जिला परिषदों के चुनाव हो रहे हैं और यू पी में 18 साल के लड़के मतदान के लिये गये हैं उन को चुनाव में मतदान का अधिकार दिया गया है। मेरे ख्याल से इस बात को ध्यान में रखकर हमें इसे मानना चाहिए। जब हम 21 वीं शताब्दी की बात करते हैं तो 21 वीं सदी के साथ जिस का

मन जुड़ा हुआ है, जो अपने भविष्य को खुद बनाना चाहते हैं उन नौजवान लोगों को अगर इस काम में सम्मिलित होने का अवसर नहीं दिया जायेगा तो जो कुछ हम करना चाहते हैं और जो कुछ हो रहा है उस में इतना महत् अन्तर हो जायेगा कि जिस के कारण नौजवानों में जो फ्रस्टेशन हम आज देख रहे है जो उन में निराशा व्याप्त हो गयी है सियासी दलों के प्रति, उस से बड़ा नुकसान हो सकता है। हम गये थे एक देहात में जहा चुनाव होने वाले थे। ऐसा समझ कर हम ने पूछा कि क्या आप चुनाव में खड़े हो रहे है। तो उन्होंने कहा कि जो बदमाश होता हैं वही चुनाव में खड़ा हो सकता हैं। सज्जनों का उस में अब कोई स्थान नहीं रह गया है। दिस इज ए वेरी बैड कमेंट। यह बुरा कमेंट हो सकता है, लेकिन सही है। कोई भी भला आदमी आज चुनाव की प्रक्रिया में नहीं आ सकता है जिस के पास धन या गुन्डों का बल न हो या अपनी जाति का बल न हो। इन के बलबूते पर तो वह चुनाव में जीत कर आ सकता है, लेकिन इन को छोड़ कर अगर कोई चुनाव के मैदान में उतर आये तो वह जीत कर नहीं आ सकता हैं। तो अगर चुनाव का मैदान धनवानों और पूंजीपतियों के हाथ में चल जायेगा, गुन्डागर्दी करने वालों के हाथ में चला जायेगा तो जिस भविष्य की आकांक्षा रख कर देश की आजादी की बुनियाद उन लोगों ने रखी है वह सारी बुनियाद ही खत्म हो जायेगी, ऐसा मैं मानता हूं इस के लिए मैं आप के माध्यम से सरकार से आग्रह करता हूं कि सरकार जल्दी से जल्दी चुनाव के सुधार के बारे में कुछ स्पष्ट निवेदन करे, कई लेजिस्लेशन लाये और आज देश में जो हलचल और गड़बड़ी चल रही है उस को रोकने का प्रयास करे। यह हमारा आप के माध्यम से सरकार से जबरदस्त आग्रह है, दुख के साथ कहिये या तीव्रता के साथ कहिये, गंभीरता के साथ कहिये वह हमारी एक आवश्यक मांग हैं जिसकी तरफ सरकार को ध्यान देना आवश्यक हैं। यह एक बात कहने का मुझे दुख है, लेकिन बात सच है कि स्वर्गीय इंदिरा गांधी ने इस देश के बुनियादी लोकतांत्रिक ढांचे को धक्का लगाने का महत् पाप किया था। इस देश की जो लोकतांत्रिक प्रणाली थी उस को धक्का लगाने का महान पाप किया था और जिस के कारण इस देश को 1975 की अवस्था में जाना पड़ा। हमें इस बात का ज्यादा दुख है कि उन्होंने तो धक्का देने का ही प्रयास किया लेकिन आज की सरकार उस को खत्म करने का प्रयास कर रही हैं। केवल तांत्रिक ढांचे को रख कर ही लोकतान्त्रिक नहीं चलता। वह तो प्रेरणा से चलता है। Democracy is not a law. Democracy must be a way of life. It is a way of life. हमारा चुनाव एक मार्ग है चुनाव का रास्ता है हम जिस मंजिल पर पहुंचना चाहते हैं उस के लिये उस तक पहुंचने का यह एक रास्ता है इसके लिए भले ही जरिया वोटों का हो, लेकिन उसमें से अगर आप प्राण निकाल देंगे तो हमारे लिए केवल सड़ा हुआ शरीर रह जाएगा। जिस ढंग से आज देश में लोकतांत्रिक प्रणाली के नाम पर शासन चलाया जा रहा हैं, उसको शायद वोट कह सकते हैं, शायद ज्यादा लोग चुनकर आ सकते हैं, लेकिन उसमें जनता की जो भावना होनी चाहिए कि यह देश मेरा है, मैं इसे बना रहा हूं, लेकिन उसमें इसके लिए अगर प्रेरणा खत्म हो जाएगी तो यह लोकतंत्र एक ढकोसला मात्र रह जाएगा। यह केवल एक डेड बाडी रह जाएगी जिसमें प्रेरणा, जिसमें उत्तेजना, जिसमें चैतन्य, जिसमें शक्ति और सामर्थ्य नहीं होगी। ऐसी लोकतांत्रिक प्रणाली इस देश में नहीं चलेगी न हम इस राय के हैं कि ऐसी चलनी चाहिए। इसलिए सरकार को इस नीति को बदलना चाहिए।

श्रीमन्, गवर्नरों की बात देखिए। मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रहा है कि इंदिरा जी के काल से यह सिलसिला चल रहा है और इटर्नल डेमोक्रेसी खत्म हो गई है। जैसे पार्सल भेजे जाते हैं, वैसे गवर्नर भेजे जाते हैं, जैसे आम के पार्सल भेजे जाते हैं, वैसे गवर्नर प्रदेशों में भेजे जा रहे हैं, वैसे चीफ मिनिस्टर भेजे जाते है। लोकतंत्र का सारा सिलसिला खत्म होता जा रहा है। क्यों इन लोगों को गवर्नर बनाया गया, मेरी समझ में नहीं आया।

[डा० मधु दंडवते]

आपको यह नहीं करना चाहिए कि कोई आदमी दिल्ली में नहीं चाहिए तो उसको तमिलनाडु भेज दिया जाए, जो तमिलनाडु में ठीक नहीं लगता है, उसको दूसरी जगह भेजा जाए। जो एक जगह गड़बड़ करे तो उसको दूसरी जगह, दूसरे काम पर लगा दिया जाए। मैं इस सिलसिले में पुरानी बात आपको याद दिलाता हूं जब डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया सदन के सदस्य थे तो उन्होंने कहा था कि यह गवर्नर का मामला खत्म करिए। वे इस राय के थे कि यह सरकारी एजेंट है। ये दलाल बन गए हैं। प्रेसिडेंट के जरिए से नामिनेट होते है, सरकार जो भी चाहती है वह काम इनके ऊपर थोप दिया जाता है और एक साजिश की जाती है। साजिश करने वाले आज अपनी जगह बना रहे हैं। मैं स्पष्ट रूप से कहना चाहता हूं कि इन गवर्नरों की पोस्टों को रखने की कोई जरूरत नही है। इनको जल्दी से जल्दी हटा देना चाहिए। आपको उनको हटाने का काम करना चाहिए।

मैं एक और बात की तरफ आपका ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूं, बहुत कहा गया है करप्शन के बारे में, मैं इस पर नहीं जाना चाहता कि सबमैरीन्स डील, बोफोर्स या फेयर-फेक्स की डील में क्या हुआ। लेकिन एक बात हम लोगों को जरूर ध्यान में रखनी चाहिए जब बजट का समय आएगा तो उस समय हम लोग जो भी इस बारे में कहना हो, कहेंगे लेकिन एक बात साफ है कि इस देश का जो धन है, इस देश का जो धनी वर्ग है, जो धनी लोग हैं, जिनके बारे में आशंका की जाती है कि देश का धन दूसरे देशों के बैंकों में रखा जा रहा है, इस पर रोक लगानी चाहिए जो धन देश के विकास के लिए, जो धन गरीब की तरक्की के लिए लगाना चाहिए वह धनी लोग चोरी करके, देश के गरीबों का शोषण करके बाहर के बैंकों में रखते हैं जो आंकड़े हमारे पास हैं, उनसे यह पता लगता है कि 1600 करोड़ रुपए से ज्यादा रुपया बाहर के बैंकों में जमा है। अब दो तरह का भ्रष्टाचार चल रहा है। एक तो ऊपरी तौर पर और दूसरा जो सियासत और धनिकों की सांठ-गांठ है उनके द्वारा धन स्विटजरलैंड के बैंकों में चला जाता है। हमारी समझ में नहीं आता है कि सरकार लोगों को दिखाने के लिए कुछ लोगों पर कार्यवाही करती है, लेकिन मुझे आज तक यह पता नहीं लगा कि थापर महोदय का क्या हुआ, बांबे डाइंग का क्या हुआ, किर्लोस्कर का क्या हुआ मुझे आज तक इस बात का पता नही लगा कि इनके रजिस्टर में जो 90, 60 या 100 ऐसे लोग हों, जिनके खिलाफ कार्यवाही शुरू हुई, वह केवल अखबार में छाप दिया गया। लेकिन मैं कहता हूं कि हमारे सदन के सदस्य कहते हैं कि हम लोग अखबार वालों को देते हैं या देने का प्रयास करते है, लेकिन हम कुछ नहीं देते हैं। आप जो करते हैं वे छापते हैं। क्योंकि उनको आप से ही मिलता है, हमारे माध्यम से कुछ नहीं मिलता है। जो मिल रहा है वह आपके माध्यम से मिल रहा है। आर. यू. सीरियस अबाउट इट तो वे आर्थिक गुनाहगार है आर्थिक चोरी करने वाले हैं। इनमें से किसी भी आदमी का नाम आप हमें बताइये कि आज तक इन 40 सालों में जिसको आपने कड़ी सजा दी हो। ये सारे लोग आपके साथ दोस्ती कर लेते हैं और मामला खत्म हो जाता है। अखबार में एक दिन आयेगा कि थापर साहब को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया। हम भी भूल जायेंगे और आप भी भूल जायेंगे। शोषण होता रहेगा, विदेशों में धन भेजने का काम लगातार चलता रहेगा। क्यों नहीं आप कड़ी कारवाई करते। इसका उत्तर साफ है आप उनसे मिले हुए हैं। आप लोगों की आंखों में धूल झोंकने का प्रयास करते हैं। यह आप दिखाना चाहते हैं कि हम कुछ न कुछ देश में गुनाहगारों के खिलाफ काम कर रहे हैं। यह तो हुई धनी लोगों की बात। अब मैं बड़े अधिकारियों की बात बताता हूं। परसों मैं शादी में गया था। मेरा एक दोस्त ज्वैलर है वह भी उस शादी में आया हुआ था। जो गहने बनाता है सोने के, चांदी के वह ज्वैलर

आया हुआ था तो उससे मेरी बात हुई तो उसने हम से कहा कि आजकल आपको मालूम है कि हमारी दुकानों से सबसे ज्यादा सोना कौन खरीदता है। उसने बताया कि जो सरकारी अधिकारी होते है वे खरीदते है। धनी और सियासी लोगों का पैसा चला जायेगा। स्विटजरलैंड में और जो अधिकारीगण है। जो मोटे-मोटे स्तर पर बैठे हुए हैं उनका पैसा चला जायेगा सुनार की दुकान पर। दोनों पैसा हड़प कर इस देश में बैठे हुए हैं। इस तरह से भ्रष्टाचार चला हुआ है। इसकी कोई सीमा नहीं है।

भाटिया साहब अभी कह रहे थे कि "मैंने देहात में जा कर देखा है"। मालूम नही वे कब देहात में गये। हमने तो कभी सुना नहीं कि वे कभी देहात में गये हों। वह तो यहीं पर प्रेक्टिस करने वाले हैं। सारा समय यहो पर गुजारते हैं। वह हमें देहातों की बात कैसे सुनायेंगे। हम तो रोज ही देहात में जाते है। हम मोटे-मोटे लोगों की बात करते हैं लेकिन जो साधारण किसान हैं उनको भी लूटता है यह ललाठी पटवारी। जो रेवेन्यू कलेक्टर करता है उसको ललाठी कहते है या पटवारी भी कहते है। सबसे अधिक करप्शन पटवारी से लेकर बड़े अफसर तक फैला हुआ है। एक बार जब मैं बच्चा था तो मैं समझता था शायद शिक्षा विभाग ऐसा है जहां करप्शन नहीं है। वहां क्या है कि गुरुजी और गुरुजी के साथ काम करने वाले हैं इसलिए वहां करप्शन नही है। आज आप एक भी ऐसा डिपार्टमेंट बताइये जहां भ्रष्टाचार नहीं हो। भ्रष्टाचार इस देश का एक नया मूल मंत्र बन रहा है। मुझे याद है 1967 मे महाराष्ट्र एम्पलाइज की स्ट्राइक हो गयी थी। एक हमारे दोस्त थे उनसे बात करने का मौका मिला। मैंने उनसे पूछा कि आप लोग क्यों पैसा खाते हैं। उसने मजाक में कहा कि कहां खाते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि रोड प्लान मंजूर कराने के लिए लोग आते हैं तो मैं क्या करूं। उसने कहा हम पैसा नहीं खाते। हम तो कुर्सी पर बैठने का मुआवजा लेते है, पेमेंट लेते है monthly salary is meant for sitting on the chair and what I am earning is by doing job. हम काम का पैसा लेते हैं, कुर्सी पर बैठने की तनख्वाह लेते हैं। काम के लिए लोगों से पैसा लेते हैं तो इसमें करप्शन कहां आती है। यह काम का पैसा है। It has become a fashion. It has not only become a fashion but it has become a tradition in this country. हम को सैकड़ों गरीब लोग मिलते हैं वह हम को बताते हैं कि कोई भी उनका काम नहीं हो रहा है क्योंकि सारी मशीनरी ही भ्रष्ट है। इसलिए मैं आपसे कहता हूं कि जहां से गंगोत्री बहती है भ्रष्टाचार की वहां से आप स्वच्छ, साफ करने का काम करिये। खुद को स्वच्छ करने का काम, क्लीन करने का काम करिये।

Values should percolate through the top people. भ्रष्ट गंगोत्री दिल्ली से बहती है और यह गांव-गांव तक फैल गयी है। इसको सरकार कैसे क्लीन करेगी कुछ पता नहीं है इसकी चर्चा भी राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण में कहीं नहीं है। इसका कोई जवाब नहीं दिया हैं। सरकार इस भ्रष्टाचार को कैसे दुरुस्त करेगी, कैसे इसका दूर करना चाहती है इसका भाषण में कहीं कोई जिक्र नहीं है।

अंत में मैं एक ही बात कहना चाहता हूं और वह यह है कि हम यहां पर बार-बार लोकतंत्र की बात करते हैं। मैं यह बात बड़े गौरव के साथ, अभिमान के साथ, कहना चाहता हूं कि जहां भी अपोजीशन की सरकारें हैं वहां पर स्थानीय संस्थाओं के चुनाव कराये गये है। आप चाहे कर्नाटक का उदाहरण लीजिये, केरल का उदाहरण लीजिये, अभी हाल ही में, कल ही बंगाल में स्थानीय संस्थाओं के चुनाव हुए है, उसका उदाहरण लीजिये, आंध्र प्रदेश का उदाहरण लीजिये, इन सब स्थानो में स्थानीय स्वायत्तशासी संस्थाओं के चुनाव कराये गये हैं। इन राज्यों में किसकी

[डा० बापू कालदाते]

सरकारें हैं। क्या इन राज्यों में आपकी सरकारें है? यहां पर आपकी सरकारे हैं वहां पर पिछले 12 वर्षों से इन संस्थाओं के चुनाव नहीं कराये गये है। कहीं तो 18 साल से इन संस्थाओं के चुनाव नही कराये हैं। महाराष्ट्र का मुझे मालूम है, वहां पर पिछले 18 सालों से इन संस्थाओं के चुनाव नहीं हुए हैं। ऐसा लगता है कि जैसे इन राज्यों में चुनाव की प्रक्रिया ही बन्द हो गई है।

श्री बिठ्ठलराव माधव राव जाधव: महाराष्ट्र में तो इन संस्थाओं के चुनाव हुए है। अठारह साल नहीं है, आठ साल है।

डा० बापू कालदाते : उस्मानाबाद में तो नही हुए है।

श्री बिठ्ठलराव माधवराव जाधव: आप सिर्फ एक डिस्ट्रिक्ट की बात कर रहे है।

डा० बापू कालदाते : आप इतने सालों से इन संस्थाओं के चुनाव नहीं करा पाये हैं। बंगाल की सरकार तो परसों बनी है। आन्ध्र प्रदेश की सरकार भी कुछ वर्ष पूर्व चुनकर आई है। कर्नाटक की सरकार ने पहले एक बिल पारित किया तो यहां से राष्ट्रपति जी से उनको अनुमति मिलने में ही एक साल लग गया। केरल के विषय में कांग्रेस के लोग कहते हैं कि एल० डी० के लोगों की संख्या कम हो गई है। हो सकता है उनकी संख्या कम हो गई हो, लेकिन असल सवाल यह है कि हमें जन-शक्ति बढ़ाने के लिए प्रयास करना चाहिए आप अभी सत्ता में हैं, हम भी वहां पर बैठे हैं और फिर बैठ सकते हैं। हमें देश की जनता की सार्वभौमिकता को और सार्वभौम शक्ति को मजबूत करना है। जब तक हम जन-शक्ति को मजबूत नहीं करेंगे तब तक हमारे देश में लोकतंत्र मजबूत नहीं हो सकता है। महाराष्ट्र में चाहे हाई कोर्ट के फैसले के कारण या अन्य किसी वजह से, हो इन संस्थाओं के चुनाव पोस्टपोन होते रहे है।

श्री बिठ्ठल राव माधवराव जाधव : ग्राम पंचायतों के चुनाव तो हुए हैं, सिर्फ जिला परिषदों के नही हुए हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री हेच० हनुमनथप्पा) : इनके बाद आपको ही बोलना है, तब आप अपनी बात कह दीजिये।

डा० बापू कालदाते : हमारे महाराष्ट्र में एक अजीब बात हुई। वहां पर इन संस्थाओं की 25वीं सालगिरह मनाई गई, विकेंद्रीकरण की 25वीं सालगिरह मनाई गई। मैंने कहा कि यह आप डिसेंट्रलाइजेशन की नहीं, से ट्रलाइजेशन की सालगिरह मना रहे हैं। आप सालगिरह नहीं, डैथ एनिवर्सरी मना रहे है। इसलिए मैं इस बात पर बहुत जोर देकर कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे कांस्टिट्यूशन में इस प्रकार का प्रोविजन करने की आवश्यकता है कि जिस प्रकार हर पांच साल में राज्यों की विधान सभाओं और हमारी पार्लियामेन्ट के चुनाव होते हैं उसी ढंग से हर पांच साल के बाद बिना किसी हिचकिचाहट के जिला परिषदों और स्थानीय स्वायत्तशासी संस्थाओं के चुनाव कराये जाने चाहिए। महात्मा गांधी जी का सपना था कि जब तक हमारे देश में गरीब तबके का आदमी, समाज का हर आदमी, शासन की प्रक्रिया में हिस्सा नहीं लेता है तब तक सही मायनों में इस देश में जनता का राज स्थापित नहीं होगा। इन स्थानीय संस्थाओं के चुनाव न कराना एक खतरनाक स्थिति है। राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में इस बात का जिक्र नहीं किया गया है। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जो मुद्दे मैंने उठाये हैं उनकी तरफ सरकार ध्यान दे और जितनी जल्दी हो सकता है उतनी जल्दी इन बातों को पूरा करे।

श्री बिठ्ठलराव माधवराव जाधव: उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका बहुत

आभारी हूं कि आपने मुझे राष्ट्रपति जी के इस महत्वपूर्ण अभिभाषण में चर्चा में हिस्सा लेने का मौका दिया । हमारे विपक्षी लोगों ने बहुत से पाइन्ट्स उठाये हैं । मैं उनके विस्तार में नहीं जाना चाहता हूं । हमारे मित्र, लर्नेड फ्रेन्ड, विद्वान सदस्य, श्री जसवन्त सिंह जी भाषण मे एक कम रहे । उनके भाषण में ऐसा एक भी प्वाइन्ट दिखाई नहीं दिया जिसमें भारत सरकार द्वारा किये गये अच्छे कार्यक्रमों का जिक्र हो । जिनकी दृष्टि सदोष होती है उनको हर चीज बुरी लगती हैं । मुझे इस अवसर पर महाभारत का एक उदाहरण याद आता है । जब पाण्डव और कौरवों की सभा बैठी तो भगवान श्रीकृष्ण ने दुर्योधन से पूछा कि इस सभा में कौन अच्छा है और कौन बुरा है तो उसने कहा कि भगवन् मुझे यहां एक भी आदमी अच्छा नजर नहीं आता है । जब यही बात भगवान श्रीकृष्ण ने धर्मराज युधिष्ठर से पूछी कि यहां अच्छा कौन है तो उन्होंने कहा कि मुझे एक भी आदमी यहां पर बुरा नजर नहीं आता है । ऐसी ही बात है । जिसको हर चीज बुरी नजर आती है उसको कोई अच्छी चीज भी कैसे अच्छी नजर आयेगी ।

डा० बापू कालदाते : मैंने समझा कि आप कोई शेर फरमा रहे हैं ।

श्री बिठ्ठलराव माधवराव जाधव: फरमाऊंगा, धीरज रखिये ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं मानता था कि वे एक विद्वान सदस्य हैं इसलिये वे बड़ी अच्छी तरह से इस देश की स्थिति का अनालिसेस करेंगे । लेकिन उनका सारा रुख एक ही व्यक्ति पर था, प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी की तरफ । उसके बाद हमारे मित्र बापू कालदाते जब बोले तो उन्होंने श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को भी नहीं छोड़ा ।

डा० बापू कालदाते : क्यों छोड़ूगा ...(व्यवधान)...

श्री बिठ्ठलराव माधवराव जाधव : उन्होंने कहा कि स्वर्गीय श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने लोकतंत्र ...(व्यवधान)... मैं आपका वाक्य पढ़कर आपको सुनाता हूं । उन्होंने श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को लोकतंत्र के ढांचे को खत्म करने का पापी कहा है ।

डा० बापू कालदाते : धक्का लगाने का कहा है ।

श्री बिठ्ठलराव माधवराव जाधव : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कांग्रेस की नीति आजादी के पहले से रही है कि हमारे देश में समाजवाद आना चाहिए, आर्थिक विषमता खत्म होनी चाहिए । इसी नीति के अनुसार श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया । बापू जी के जो नेता थे भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री श्री मोरारजी देसाई वे भी उस वक्त कांग्रेस में थे । जब कांग्रेस ने समाजवाद का प्रस्ताव 1932 में पेश किया तो मेरे ख्याल से वे उस समय वहां मौजूद थे और उन्होंने इसका विरोध किया था । इंदिरा जी ने हमारे बैंकों के दरवाजे देश के गरीबों के लिये खुले कर दिये यह एक सबसे बड़ा पाप उनका उनकी दृष्टि में है । दूसरी बात उन्होंने क्या की ? जब इंदिरा जी ने देखा कि हमारे जो कार्यक्रम हैं उनका लाभ गरीबों को नहीं मिल रहा है तो उन्होंने 20–सूत्री कार्यक्रम तैयार किया और अपनी योजनाओं के माध्यम से 10 हजार करोड़ रुपये 20–सूत्री कार्यक्रम पर खर्च किये । इसके कारण आज गरीबों का स्तर काफी ऊंचा उठा है । लेकिन इनकी नजर इस तरफ नहीं जाती । सच्चाई क्या है और बुराई क्या है जब इस बात की तरफ भी इनकी दृष्टि नहीं जाती तो इसे देखकर बड़ा दुख होता है । बापू कालदाते एक समाजवादी कार्यकर्ता होने के बावजूद भी

[श्री विठ्ठलराव माधवराव जाधव]

इंदिरा गांधी ने इस देश में समाजवाद के लिये जो कार्य किया उसकी अनदेखी कर रहे हैं यह बड़े दुख की बात है श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने इस देश में समाजवाद के लिये अपने शरीर की आखिरी बूंद इस देश की एकता के लिये अर्पण कर दी। जब बापू जी की सरकार केन्द्र में थी तो कर्नाटक प्रदेश के चिकमगलूर से चुनाव जीतकर इंदिरा गांधी लोक सभा में आई थी। लेकिन लोकतंत्र की सेवा और उनकी रक्षा करने वाली जो सरकार उस वक्त केन्द्र में थी उसने इंदिरा गांधी की मेम्बरशिप को खत्म कर दिया। ये लोकतंत्र के बहुत पुजारी हैं ? मुझे उन पर बड़ी दया आती है। ये मेरे ज्येष्ठ मित्र हैं ... (**व्यवधान**) ...

दूसरा, अभी उन्होंने हमारे प्रदेश की बात उठाई कि हमारे महाराष्ट्र में पिछले आठ सालों से चुनाव नहीं हुए। मैं मानता हूं कि पिछले आठ सालों से चुनाव नहीं हुआ। दो साल का अर्सा ज्यादा हो गया है। वहां पर चुनाव होने जा रहे थे लेकिन कुछ राजनैतिक बातें हैं। उन बातों को बापू जी भी अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। मैं उनको यहां पर दोहराना नहीं चाहता। मगर बापू जी की पार्टी की सरकार जो कर्नाटक में है वहां की म्युनिस्पैलिटी के चुनाव की मियाद भी खत्म हो चुकी है। वहां पर भी चुनाव नहीं हुए। मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि इसका कारण क्या है ? इसको अगर बापू जी बता दें तो बहुत अच्छा होगा ... (**व्यवधान**)

दूसरा, मुझे दुख इस चीज का है कि हमारे विद्वान मित्र जसवंत सिंह जिनका मैं आज तक बहुत आदर करता था, उन्होंने जो कुछ आज यहां पर कहा .. (**व्यवधान**) मैं रहूं या न रहूं। क्या होने वाला है। जो कोई और आये तो यह अच्छी बात है। मैं यह कहूं कि मैं हमेशा राज्य सभा में रहूंगा यह ठीक नहीं। मैं यहां हमेशा रहना भी नहीं चाहता। तो वह कोई बात नहीं। अगर लोगों की सेवा करनी है तो गांव में जाकर लोगों की सेवा कर सकते है। He said, "performance or non-performance of the Government." I don't understand what "the performance or non-performance of the Government" is. जनता पार्टी की सरकार जब अढ़ाई साल के लिए सत्ता में थी तो उस समय रेट आफ इन्फ्लेशन 21 परसेंट था 1980 में और आज जब इस देश में 21 मेटीरियोलाजिकल डिवीज़नस में सूखा पड़ा है इसके बावजूद भी इनफ्लेशन का रेट 9.5 परसेंट बढ़ा है। इज़ इट नाट दी परफारमेंस आफ दिस गवर्नमेंट ? आप आंख बन्द कर के क्यों देखते हैं ? बिल्ली आंख बन्द कर के दूध पीती है उसको लगता है कि मुझे कोई भी नहीं देख रहा है मगर जब मालिक उसको डंडे से मारता है तब उसे पता चलता है। यह तो कभी लोगों में गये ही नहीं इसलिए लोगों ने कभी उनको इधर भेजा ही नहीं। जब लोग इनको चाहते नहीं, उनकी भाषा यह यहां बोलते हैं, यह लोग तो देश को गुमराह करना चाहते है। प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी के प्रति इनका इतना द्वेश है। अगर विरोध पक्ष को विरोध करना है तो करे लेकिन प्रधानमंत्री के प्रति इनको इतना द्वेश नहीं रखना चाहिये, द्वेश करना पाप है। राजीव जी क्या हैं —

हाथी चलत् है अपनी गतवो,
कुत्र भुक्त है भुकवा दे,
तू तो राम स्मरण, जग लड़वा दे।

ऐसा राज राजीव गांधी कर रहे हैं। आपने देखा होगा पिछले दो तीन सालों में इस देश में एक नया एटमोसफेयर शास्त्र ज्ञान, तंत्र ज्ञान एक नयी संस्कृति तैयार हुई हैं, मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि उसके लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी हैं। इंदिरा जी हमारे प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी जी की मां नहीं थी वह तो सारे देश की मां थी। अपनी मां की हत्या होने के बाद राजीव जी ने प्रतिज्ञा की श्री राजीव गांधी ने सत्ता को सम्भाला तब गत तीन सालों में जो आर्थिक नीति तय की

यह सब उस का परिणाम है जो आपने कल का बजट देखा। मैं इस समय उसमें नहीं जाना चाहता हू। सारे देश की जनता खुश है आज सुबह आपने टी० वी० पर देखा होगा समाचार पत्रों में पढ़ा होगा गरीब से गरीब और पिछड़ा हुआ आदमी तथा किसान यह कहता है कि यह देश का जो बजट है यह ऐसा बजट नारायण दत्त तिवारी जी ने पेश किया है पहली बार हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में यह सामाजिक बजट आया है गरीबों के लिए बजट आया है यह एग्रीकल्चर ओरियेंटेड बजट है। ऐसा उन्होंने कहा है। लेकिन यह सब बातें उनको बातें दिखाई नहीं देती हैं। इससे मुझे बड़ा दुख होता है। सारी बातों का ज़वाब देने का मेरा फर्ज़ नहीं है मगर कुछ बातों से मुझे इस सदन में दुख पहुंचता है इस सदन में जहां हम बैठे हैं हमारी बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है। इस संसद में आने के बाद संविदान के प्रति हम शपथ लेते हैं इसलिए हमारी यह जिम्मेदारी हो जाती है कि हम देश को सही बातें बताएं। भाटिया जी बहुत लायक दोस्त है और सुप्रीम कोर्ट के बड़े अच्छे वकील है। मैं उनके भाषण को बड़े ध्यान से सुनता हूं। उन्होंने अपनी बात को इतनी अच्छी तरह से रखा है मैं किसी भी भाषा में इतनी अच्छी तरह से नहीं कर पाऊंगा। उन्होंने यह कहा है कि संविधान के प्रति हम बन्धे हुए हैं। जो इन्सान अपने आप को सविधान के प्रति बन्धा हुआ नहीं समझता है वह देशद्रोही समझा जाना चाहिये और उसको देश में रहने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है। जब इस देश में अच्छी बातें होती हैं, अरे भाई अच्छी बातें कहो, मगर क्या करना चाहिये, हमें आप कुछ रास्ता दिखाओं, हम चाहते हैं आपसे हमें कुछ मार्गदर्शन मिले। आप चुनाव की बात करते हैं। सारी बातों में मैं इस समय नहीं जाना चाहता मगर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस देश का तीन चौथाई भाग सूखे की चपेट में आ गया है। आजादी के पहले भी बंगाल मे सूखा पड़ा था जिसमें कई लाख लोग मरे थे। उसके बाद कई बार देश में सूखा पड़ा 1952 से लेकर 1987 तक। हमारे देश में कृषि का ढांचा इस तरह से तैयार हो गया है कि इतना सूखा पड़ने के बावजूद भी 7 प्रतिशत से ज्यादा प्रोडक्शन में कमी नहीं आई। 150 मिलियन टन की जगह 144 मिलियन टन अनाज का उत्पादन होने की सम्भावना है और मुझे इसकी पूरी उम्मीद है। हमारे क्षेत्र मे भी महाराष्ट्र में सूखा है। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार में गया था जहां सूखे का क्षेत्र है वहा करापस बहुत अच्छी है और सरकार के इस्टीमेट से भी ज्यादा फूडग्रेंस का उत्पादन हो सकता है। अभी कुछ दिन पहले हमारे कृषि मंत्री श्री भजन लाल ने कहा कि इस देश में अगले एक साल में एक करोड़ कुएं बनाएंगे ट्यूबवेल्ज़ लगाएंगे। यह कितना बड़ा काम है कोई सोच भी नहीं सकता पांच-छः सौ फुट गहराई के कुंए बनाएंगे जो हरिजनों आदिवासियों को हम देंगे। इन एक करोड़ कुओं से हमारे देश में 20–25 मिलियन टन फूडग्रेंस का उत्पादन ज्यादा हो सकता है। हमने अंदाजा लगाया है कि अगले दो साल में 175 मिलियन टन फूड ग्रेन्स हमें ज्यादा बनाने हैं। मुझे बड़ी खुशी है कि पहली बार इस देश के इतिहास में कृषि को किसानों को, खेत मजदूरों को हरिजनों और गिरिजनों को कुछ लाभांश देने की कोशिश की गयी है हमारे नेता प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी जो के नेतृत्व में, यह एक गौरव की बात है। कांग्रेस के एक कार्यकर्ता ही नहीं मगर इस देश के नागरिक होने के नाते मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि मुझे गौरव है हमारे प्रधान मंत्री पर। जो बातें ये लोग कहते हैं, जो चुनाव में कभी जीतते नहीं तो मुझे इस पर एक शेर याद आता है :

"जज़्बा जी लगाने की दुनिया नहीं है,
सामान सौ बरस के हैं,
पल की खबर नहीं"

[श्री विठ्ठलराव माधवराव जाधव]

ऐसी उनकी बातें हो चुकी हैं। इन सारी चीजों के बावजूद भी हमारा ग्रास नेशनल प्रोडक्ट एक से दो परसेंट बढ़ा है। इसके बाद कृषि में किसानों को राहत मिली है। कृषि बैंक बनने जा रहा है, वह बना है। उसके बाद नेशनल हाउसिंग बैंक बन रहा है, शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट एण्ड शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिए बैंक बन रहा है। इंडिस्ट्रियल प्रोडक्शन के बलए स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रियल बैंक भी कन रहा है जिसमें 250 करोड़ रुपये का गवर्नमेंट का इक्विटी शेयर है। ये सारी बातें हो रही है। नेशनल हाउसिंग के लिए कई बातें हो रही हैं। जल धारा, ज्योति कुटीर, एक योजना बनी है जिसमे 5 लाख फैमिलीज को फायदा होने वाला है। हर एक गरीब आदमी के घर में एक चिराग जलेगा। हमारी सरकार हर एक गरीब के घर में एक चिराग की रोशनी देना चाहती है। क्या यह समाजवाद नहीं है। यह बहुत बड़े समाजवाद का यत्न है ऐसा मैं समझता हूं। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे देश में साइंस और तंत्र ज्ञान में कितनी प्रगति हो रही है। मैं खुद साइंस एण्ड टेक्नालाजी की कंसलटेटिव कमेटी का मेम्बर हूं। मैंने डिसकशन्स में काफी हिस्सा लिया है। हमारे जो संशोधन हो रहे है, रिसर्च हो रही है उनकी मुझे जानकारी है। परसों, दो तीन दिन पहले प्रधान मंत्री जी ने इसी सदन में, और उस सदन में कहा कि हमने जो सरफेस टु सरफेस मिसाइल्स बनाये है वे 250 किलोमीटर तक मार करने वाले हैं। यह हमारे हिन्दुस्तान के मिसाइल्स हैं, इंडिजेनस मिसाइल्स हैं और हमारा भारत 4 देशों के बाद अब एक पांचवा देश बन चुका है। यह आत्मनिर्भरता नहीं है तो क्या है। हम भारत को समर्थ बनाना चाहते हैं, हम भारत को शक्तिशाली बनाना चाहते हैं चाहे शास्त्रज्ञान का क्षेत्र हो, तंत्रज्ञान का हो, कृषि का हो या और कहीं भी हो। मुझे इस चीज का बड़ा गौरव है। अभी तो हमारा टर्म खत्म हो रहा है लेकिन पिछले 5-6 साल से मैं हमेशा कहता रहा हूं कि किसानों के लिए बजट मे ज्यादा प्रावधान करना चाहिए। मैंने बहुत दफा कहा है कि हमारे नियोजन की जो दिशा है जो प्लानिंग प्रोसेस है उसको बदलना चाहिए। आज मुझे बड़ी खुशी है कि लास्ट इयर के बजट से 40 प्रतिशत ज्यादा निधि एग्रीकल्चर सैक्टर में रखी गयी है इस साल। मैं बिल्कुल खुश हूं कि हमारे देश में जो अभी आर्थिक नीति तय होने वाली है वह एग्रीकल्चरल ओरियेंटेड कृषि की आर्थिक नीति होगी और उसकी शुरूआत इस साल हुई है ... (समय की घंटी) और राजीव गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में हुई है। श्रीमन् वे तो आधा घंटा बोले और आपने घंटी बजा दी। मैं दो तीन मिनट और लूंगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री हेंब० हनुमनतप्पा) : पार्टी के आधार पर टाइम नियुक्त होता है।

श्री विठ्ठलराव माधवराव जाधव : हम जानते हैं कि जब इंदिरा गांधी जी प्रधान मंत्री थीं तब उन्होंने कहा था कि हमारा देश सेल्फ रिलायंट बनना चाहता है। हमारे 94 परसेंट रिसोर्सेज इंटरनल रिसोर्सेज हैं। Only six per cent of our resources are external resources. तो हमारी जो सारी नीति है, सारी राजनीति है या आर्थिक नीति है वह हमारे स्वावलम्बन की नीति है, हमारे देश को, हमारे देश के लोगों के परिश्रम से, हमारे देश के रिसोर्सेज से आगे बढ़ाने की नीति है जो हम आगे चल रहे हैं। इसके साथ-साथ हम यह भी देखते हैं कि इस साल 24.7 परसेंट की एक्सपोर्ट में वृद्धि हुई है। हम अपने देश में प्राइम इंडस्ट्रियल बेस तैयार कर चुके हैं और पब्लिक सैक्टर में 18 सौ करोड़ से ज्यादा फायदा इस साल हमें हुआ है। एनर्जी के सेक्टर में जाइये तो हमारा 42 परसेंट जो टोटल पावर जनरेशन था वह 55 परसेंट तक गया है। क्या यह सुधार नहीं है। हमारे पैट्रोलियम में या नये खाद उद्योग में एच० बी० जे० पाइप लाइन बन रही है उसके बाद 6

नये खाद उद्योग आयेंगे । हमारा देश जब स्वतंत्र हुआ था उस वक्त .5 मिलियन टन खाद किसान यूज करते थे अब 8.8 मिलियन टन यूज कर रहे हैं, और उसमें से तकरीबन आठ मिलियन टन फर्टिलाइजर्स हमारे देश में ही तैयार होते है । क्या यह हमारे लिये गौरव की बात नहीं है ? आज एच० बी० जे० पाईप लाईन होने के बाद हम रोज सुनते हैं, पार्लियामेंट में बयान होता है कि यहां हमें गैस, पेट्रोल मिल गया, नैसर्गिक सम्पत्ति मिल गई और सब से बड़ी बात जो है, ओशन डेवेलपमेंट में एक लाख पचास हजार स्कुयर किलोमीटर पोलीमैटेलिक ज़ोन जो एरिया डिटैक्ट किया है, भारत ही दुनिया का पहला देश है, जिसने समुद्र की जो खनिज सम्पत्ति है, उसका फायदा कैसे लेना है, यह तंत्र ज्ञान वह हासिल कर चुका है और यह हमारे लिए बड़े गौरव की बात है। पर यह सारी बातें हमारी आपोजीशन को दिखाई नहीं देतीं ।

हमने सबमैरीन की खरीद की है अपने डिफेंस सिस्टम के लिए--जब मैं डिफेंस का आर्टिकल पढ़ रहा था, इक्कीसवीं सदी में लगने वाले सारे डिफेंस इक्विपमेंट, सारे अत्याधुनिक हथियार हमारी आर्मी को, हमारे सैनिकों को देकर भारत का एक बड़ी शक्ति के रूप में इस दुनिया के क्षितिज पर लाने की जो महत्वकांक्षी योजना हमारे युवा नेता और हमारे लाडले प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी ने बनाई है, हमें उस पर काफी गर्व है और मुझे इसमें कोई बात नहीं दिखाई देती कि हम बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर कृषि उद्योग और तंत्र ज्ञान के क्षेत्र में तथा साईंस के क्षेत्र में तरक्की करेंगे ।

आपने घंटी बजा ही दी है । मैं तो ज्यादा कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता, मगर मैं इतना जरूर कहूंगा :

मर जमीने हिंद पर अक्वामें आलम के चिराग,
काफिले आते गये, हिन्दुस्तान बनता गया ।

मैं इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूं ।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Vice-Chairman' Sir, it is my bounden duty to express my disappointment and despair, anger and anguish, over the dismal performance of the Government, the despotic path chosen by the Government headed by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

The Address delivered by the hon. President, the Address prepared by the Government, reflects the policy and also a report, a stock-taking by the Government. So this Address has tried to hoodwing 800 million Indians.

Sir, in this Address there is a mention about the alleviation of poverty. Sir, when the Government is claiming that it is taking the country towards the 21st century, the year 1987 witnessed starvation deaths, deaths due to hunger. In Kalahandi and Koraput districts in Orissa, people unable to get even a square meal had to die, and the 'kisans', the farmers, who tilled the land braving scorpions and snakes had finally to liquidate themselves with pesticides which were unable to control pests. Sir, our friends from the treasury benches were praising the Budget presented yesterday. Sir, here 4.00 P.M. again the capitalists and those big people who are controlling the parallel economy, who are prepared to fill up the offers of the Treasury Benches, have been given the bonanza and the benefit of the budget. In the Explanatory Memorandum at Page 30, there is a mention about the concession for man-made fibres and excise duty on polyester and staple fibre from Rs 25/- to Rs. 15/- per kilogram. Sir, this is the biggest victory for the Reliance lobby of Bombay. They were advocating this theory in order to combat smuggling and they wanted reduction in duty Sir, according to this announcement, they got Rs. 236 crores due to these concessions. Out of these 236 crores of rupees, nearly 170 crores of rupees will go to Reliance alone. This is the sample. When millions and millions of people were suffering and passing sleepless nights on the last day of 1987 and when millions and mil-

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tions of people were terribly afraid to face the onslaught of one more year in their lives, the VVIP, our hon. Prime Minister, decided to go to Bangaram Islands of the Lakshdweep archipelago to celebrate the Near Year Eve in the European and Italian style. He had a holiday trip. I don't object to that. I was happy to note that our hon. Prime Minister jumped into the sea when he say a stranded dolphin in order to rescue it. It suits his style of functioning because this Government is protecting and rescuing the economic sharks which are sucking the blood of the millions of this country. They were enjoying a holiday with Ambazhapalu—*pal payasam*, a delicious dish of Kerala that had to be airlifhted to Lakshdweep. Helicopters were used for this purpose. This is the style of living of the V.V.I.Ps who are controlling the reins of this Government. Naval vessels were used not only by the Prime Minister. I do not object to the use of Naval vessels by the Prime Minister and his wife. These naval vessels were used by persons coming from foreign countries, from Italy and other countries. I do not understand how those foreigners were permitted to use these Naval vessels. Last year, when we discussed the Finance Bill, when our hon. Prime Minister came to reply to the discussion, I sought a specific clarification from the hon. Prime Minister about freezing the deposits in Swiss banks. According to the Annual Report of the International Monetary Fund, thousands of crores of rupees have been deposited in the Swiss Banks I wanted to know from the hon. Prime Minister whether this Government will take steps to freeze the deposits by Indians in Swiss banks as it was done by Madam Aquino of the Philippines. At that moment, our hon. Prime Minister was pleased to reply to my querry that "we will study what action was taken by Madam Aquino, and we will consider what action we could take." Sir, here is a man whose name has figured in the biggest scandal of this country, a man who has been proved a bluff because he deposed that he has gone to a foreign country—he is there is Switzerland—on a work permit and it was proved that he has gone on a tourist visa and that he did not have any work permit. And then it was proved beyond doubt with documentary evidence that he has purchased his apartment worth Rs. 85 lakhs without getting the permission from the Reserve Bank. From where has he got the money? So, this has been proved and his own brother had to resign his seat in the Parliament. His own brother, a close friend of the Prime Minister deposed that "my own brother is living in a rented apartment of his own Company, paying the rent." Then, Sir, a probe has been ordered . The investigation is going on to investigate into the alleged offence committed by that gentleman, Mr. Ajitabh Bachchan for violation of the Foreign Exchange (Regulations) Act. Sir, I am pained to say that the family members of a man whose name figures in the biggest scandal are being taken along with the Prime Minister to enjoy the holiday trip. My point is that our hon. Prime Minister has become highly impervious to all the charges, all the accusation and all the criticisms, Sir, what mesage is he giving from Lakshdweep to those officials who are investigating this alleged offence? What message is he sending from Lakshdweep? No officer will dare go near that gentleman. Sir a poor India, after labouring hard in a Gulf country, if he brings a VCR, he is questioned and he has to appear before the Enforcement Directorate if they so want. Here, Sir, it is being investigated through correspondence. Everybody knows that the Caesar's wife should be above suspicion. Sir, when there is documentary evidence to prove the charge against this particular gentleman, Mr. Ajitabh Bachchan, his family members have been taken to the Lakshdweep, and a helicopter was being used by Mr. Amitabh. It is not a question of a helicopter or this naval vessel All these things do not belong to the family of the Prime Minister. They are the country's assets. How were they permitted to use those things? Sir, on the diplomatic front we say that we do not have any truck with Israel and that our friendship and bondage is only with the Muslim world. Then I am surprised to see the Israeli-uzi machine guns being used by the commandos here. How have those Israeli-uzi machine guns been

brought here? Through whom you got them?

SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Uttar Pradesh): Who is using?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Our own commandos, our Armed personnel who are controlling the security of the VVIPs are using them. So, you are fooling the Islamic world also. Sir, we have been advocating the philosophy of keeping the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. But, Sir, the U.S. State department sources have admitted that three warships of the U.S. Navy did call at Cochin port in the month of December last year. Again, Sir, last week a U.S. frigate designed primarily for the anti-submarine warfare, it is named U.S. Reasener, did make a port call at Madras. It was anchored at Madras and this U.S. Reasener was actively engaged in Vietnam war and it has been assigned in the Gulf. When tension mounted in the Gulf area why this U.S. Reasener this anti-submarine frigate was allowed to anochor in the Madras port? And this was actually used in the Vietnam conflict. I also understand that this frigate is charged by nuclear power. When the press people approach the public relations officer of this Reasener, he said it is part of the routine Indian Ocean monitoring work to conduct regular exercises and he also said, we have come from Penang, but we are heading for an unknown destination in the Indian Ocean. The most painful episode is that our naval officers in the vessels which were meant for IPKF operations which were standing in the Indian Ocean, they invited these officers of the U.S. Naval ship to celebrate a party, which was reciprocated later by them, and that Doordarshan Madras telecast the football and volleyball matches between the U.S. Naval Officials and the members of the Indian Navy. I would like to know from the Government for what reasons the naval vessels or warships, the Seventh Fleet of the U.S.A. were permitted to anchor in Indian ports.

Sir, our hon. President in his Address, that is the Government in its Address, has said that the Indian Peace Keeping Force has done an outstanding job in Sri Lanka. Sir, hereafter in the dictionary of this Government, butchering is an outstanding job, raping is an outstanding job, killing thousands of innocents is an outstanding job, slaughtering people is an outstanding job. Sir, today more than seventy thousand troops of our Armed Forces are engaged on a foreign soil for the first time in independent India. Long back we sent a mission to Korea to implement the resolution of the United Nations. Very long back we sent a medical mission to China to help the Chinese fight the Japanese. Now, Sir, we have sent our Armed Forces and some people ask, why did you ask the Government to send the Armed Forces? Yes, I have demanded on the floor of this House, the whole race was being wiped out by the Sinhalese. So, we have to help them. Their house is in darkness; you please go there to light the house, to console them, to give succour and solace But you have burnt the whole house itself. Now, what is the attitude of Sri Lankan Government? The Prime Minister of Sri anka, Mr Premadasa and the Internal Security Minister, Mr. Athulathmudali, have heaviiy attacked the Indian Government on the floor of the floor of the Sri Lankan Parliament. Mr. Premadasa says—it is in Indian Express January 23,, 1988: "...claimed that the fourth largest army in the world has failed to contain terrorism in the north and east of Sri Lanka, and the people of north and east, who at one time condemned the action of the Sri Lankan forces, are saying that they needed fathers and not step-mothers" Mr. Athulathmudali said that people of all communities were of one mind that the foreign army should depart. He goes on to say that experience all over the world is that external forces come to a country for their own end.

Sir, the so-called agreement was not accepted by the LTTE. I have established my case. It was thrust on them. They did not give concent before our Prime Minister did put his signature on the Colombo accord, but they were coerced, and they were blackmailed.

SHRI M. PALANIYANDI (Tamil Nadu): In a public meeting in Sri Lanka, they accepted the agreement.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I have quoted the verbatim speech of Mr. Prabhakaran which was delivered on August 4 at Sudumalai. If you want a copy of the text of the speech, I will get it and hand it over to you.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: You wanted to meet Mr. Prabhakaran but were not allowed to meet.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I have quoted Mr. Prabhakaran who said: 'a superpower, India, has imposed on us for which we were not a party. We will cooperate with the Government because we are not prepared to take our guns against India. We love India.' This is what he said. But when 17 LTTE men were taken into custody by the Sri Lankan navy—I have asked this specific question to our hon. Minister, Shri Natwar Singh and our Prime Minister but I did not get a reply at all—according to the agreement, the Sri Lankan troops should have been confined to their barracks as on May 27, 1987 and that is crystal clear according to the agreement. How did they come to arrest these 17 LTTE men? These 17 LTTE men thought that India would come to their rescue and they will be recued. Spontaneously our Indian Generals rushed to the spot; they did put a cordon where these 17 LTTE men were kept under custody by Sri Lankan navy and armed forces, and the message reached Delhi. When the message reached Delhi on October 4, and it reached the desk of the Prime Minister, there a very cruel, unjustifiable and unpardonable decision was taken by this Government that they wanted a bullying point, a blackmailing point and they gave instructions to lift off the cordon. And the cordon was withdrawn that was put up by our own Indian army, the next moment. The Sri Lankan army personnel started to move those 17 LTTE men towards Colombo. That is why Mr. Prabhakaran informed Mr. Dixit that if you move them, they will commit suicide. And they committed suicide. They committed suicide because of the deliberate attempt of the Indian Government who failed to rescue them. We failed to protect them. And spontaneous reaction was there within two days, within 48 hours, and what did we do? We blasted the newspaper offices We blasted the television tower. We blasted the radio broadcasting station. Then the attack started. Our hon. Prime Minister said 'LTTE represents none'. He said this in a public meeting in Pudukottai, in Tamil Nadu He said 'after all, they are 2,000 or 3,000 boys and we will take care of them'. We have so far sent nearly 70,00/ soldiers, nearly 200 tanks. With all this mighty power of the Army Navy and the Airforce, you thought that within 48 hours you will be able to eradicate the Tigers What happened? Till today, we get reports of Indian soldiers being killed. Of course, LTTE men are also killed. Our own IPKF soldiers are also getting killed. They are our own brothers. Indian soldiers. Our own brothers get killed. You thought that you will be able to wipe them out. But Sir, history has proved that no army, however powerful, however mighty it may be, will be able to wipe out a motivated force when it is committed to a cause. In spite of this, Sir, the LTTE chief wrote a letter to our hon. Prime Minister on the 13th January. In his letter, he made an appeal to the hon. Prime Minister to order a ceasefire. This is he letter of Mr. Prabhakaran to the Prime Minister. I quote:

"In view of the cotinuing violence, disruption of peace in the Tamil areas and the immense suffering placed on our people, I appeal to you once again to call off military offensive operations an initiate negotiations to end all hostilities and establish peace and normalcy. It is our considered opinion and that of the people of Tamil Eelam that cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of the Peace Keeping Force to pre-offensive positions will facilitate the return of peace and normalcy to the Tamil areas. As a preliminary measure towards this, we urge you to prevail upon Sri Lanka to grant amnesty to LTTE and release our members and supporters who are presently in custody with the IPKF. We have repeatedly assured you that the LTTE will co-operate with the Government of India in the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka accord, if Tamil interests are protected and Tamil people are protected."

SHRI M. PALANIYANDI: The Army is there to protect the interests of the Tamils. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Mr. Palaniyandi, I know your position. There are a number of speakers to speak from your side. They can refute my charges when their turns come. This is my chance to express my own views.

Sir, what happened to the letter of Mr. Prabhakaran? What was the reaction of the Prime Minister? When they pleaded for peace, for negotiations, you say that they should throw away their guns. Sir, these guns were obtained by these youth for the sake of fighting for their freedom. Not by paying commision to anybody. This is not a Bofors gun. This is not a Bofors gun that it can be thrown away.. It is the gun which has protected the honour and dignity of their mother and sisters. For a number of years, for thirty long years, through peaceful methods, they have been demanding justice and they fought for justice. This is their history.. to take up arms. This is their history... (*Interruptions*).

Sir, our High Commisioner in Sri Lanka, Mr. Dixit, was terribly perturbed and alarmed over a news item that some top leaders of the Sri Lankan Government were having parleys, were having talks, with the Liberation Tigers. This was only a newsitem. Immediately, our High Commissioner made a statement, a very damaging statement, Sir. He says— I quote:

> "No unilateral decision by any party can be imposed on India which has lost nearly 400 soldiers."

I would like to know the exact number of casualties, how many of our soldiers have died so far, how many of them are wounded. Sir, is it for the High Commissioner of this country to make such a statement over a serious deevlopment, if at all it happens, that it is a serious threat to the accord of which this Government and our hon. Prime Minister has been telling that it has been universally acclaimed and applauded? Is it for Mr. Dikshit, the Government spokesmen to come out with such a statement. Our friends may ask, what is your position on this? You have closed the doors for peace, for negotiations. You have closed the doors and you are showing them the guns. Only then they have gone to the United Nations, to the Human Rights Commission. Thousands of Tamils were demonstrating before the United Nation's office for peace and justice, to stop the massacre, to stop the bloodshed perpetrated by the Indian Peace Keeping Force, no, the Indian peace killing force. So, your doors have been closed. They have gone to the United Nations, to the Human Rights Commission. Even if they have to go towards the Sri Lankan Government side to talk, what is wrong in it? You are showing them guns and you have closed your doors.

You have not learnt lessons from the past history. What happened in Vietnam? In Vietnam when American soldiers were dying, public opinion was mounted against the President of the United States. They said, come out, get out of that place. Now, Sir, even the multi-milionaire Jews living in United States have condemned the attacks on the innocent Palestinians but here I am really shocked over the attitude of many of our people. For what purpose are our soldiers killing those youths? It is their land, it is their motherland. It is their birth right to demand freedom and justice. If you are able to help them, help them, do that. If you cannot do that, at least do not dictate terms to them as to what should be their political destiny. It is up to them, it is for them to decide what should be their political destiny.

Sir, a very disturbing news we have received. It may be shocking to you but this is one of the letters which we have received from Jaffna. It has come to me from Jaffna. It says and I quote:

> "At the Jaffna general hospital 65 civilians were shot dead by the IPKF and out of which 29 were hospital employees. Three doctors were also short dead by the IPKF. The relatives of the Chief Justice Mr. Sharvananda were also shot dead by the IPKF but

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it was announced on the All India Radio and Sri Lankan Radio that they were shot dead by the LTTE. If an independent Commission....

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Do you believe that version?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: My friend, you please listen to me. (*Interruptions*). Yes, I believe it, I believe this butchering, this raping and killing.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: No Indian will believe it.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: They just pick up some version of a newspaper and start saying all sorts of things. Unfortunately, this is what they are saying against our own Army, against our own valient soldiers, against our own people. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You may attribute anything to me but I will not change my opinion. (*Interruptions*). You cannot question my patriotism. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I know your patriotism.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: If that is so, you cannot criticise police for rape incident in Bihar. Police is also a form of the Government. (*Interruptions*). What is wrong in criticising army? If you criticise police force which is a government organ, what is wrong in criticising the army? (*Interruptions*). When Mai Lai tragedy took place in Vietnam the General of the U. S. army was put in the dock in the United States and a court martial was held in public. So I do not need anybody's advice on patriotism. If the soldiers belonging to the Indian army commit rape, or commit any atrocities, I will raise my accusing finger against those armed personnel. Then if I am charged guilty, I am prepared to be called guilty. If it is anti-national, if you describe my act as an anti-national act, you do it. Sir, when our armed forces our own people, our own brothers, and if I level charges, why do you get disturbed? Are you prepared to send an independent team? Then the truth will come out. Truth came out in Nuremburg trial for the atrocities committed by the Nazis. If an independent team is sent by the U.N.—one day or the other it is going to happen—all the atrocities which are being committed will come to light. Are you prepared to send an independent team to investigate the atrocities committed by the Indian Peace Keeping Force? (*Time bell rings*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Mr. Gopalsamy, you should respect the bell. How many times have I to ring the bell?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: More than 50 minutes have been allotted to our Party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): I have already given you more time. Don't argue with me.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: Sir, I am not arguing with you. When the baggage of a Major of the Indian army who came from Jaffna was searched by the Customs officials at Chandigarh, more than hundred sovereigns of gold and gold ornaments were found therein. How did he get these? (*Interruptions*) What are they doing? They are committing unpardonable crimes against our own women, against our own sisters, against our own brothers, against our own people. You are committing that..... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, without any basis he is repeating the same thing.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: This bloodshed and blood-bath you are committing what purpose? For what nationals interest? It is a sovereign country and if you say, you cannot divide the country, what business had you to send your army to Dacca? If you preach that a neighbouring country should not be divided, what business had you to send your army to East Pakistan? My point is, if you say it is a neighbouring country, a sovereign country, and there cannot be a movement for separation, then what business have you got, according to the norms of international

law, what right have you, to dictate terms hat there should not be any movement for self-determination, there should not be any movement for separation?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Will you please conclude now? I am going to call the next speaker.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I am concluding within two minutes, Sir.

SHRI M. PALANIYANDI: Sir, what relevance has East Pakistan got with this?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You read history. Unless you read history, you do not know anything. You are only reading AICC minutes. What can I do?

Therefore, Sir, I say, you stop the offences, you stop the genocide, you stop the massacre. Then you call them for talks. And our forces should be taken back to October 9 position. Otherwise you may kill Mr. Prabhakaran, you may kill their leaders—and you have decided to do that, according to the version of Maj. Gen. Depinder Singh two days ago, you have decided to kill them, you want the head of Mr. Prabhakarn—but posterity will never forgive you. For every drop of blood being shed by the Indian soldiers, for every drop of blood being shed by the Tamils, this Government is responsible, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is responsible. This is not India's war. This is a war of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. This is a war of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi against an innocent people, aganist an ethnic race, just to appease the bloodthirsty regime headed by Mr. Jayewardene. Posterity will never forgive you. You have to take lesson from past history, otherwise one day or the other, an independent team from the UN. will visit and investigate all the atrocities you have committed there and the truth will come to light. And for that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi will be solely held responsible, this Government will be held responsible. Thank you.

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY (West Bengal): Hon. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks moved by Mr. A. G. Kulkarni on the President's Address. As we all know, the President's Address reveals the performances and policies of the Government.

I take this opportunity to compliment the Government for having successfully testfired the indigenously made surface-to-surface missile, Prithvi.

I also take this opportunity to hail this Government for having successfully tackled the Srilankan situation, for having an agreement siged between the Goverment of India and Sri Lanka. The way India has tackled the Srilankan situation has again established one fact that India is capable enough of tackling any prblem pertaining to this region. After 1971, India has established this fact that in the matter of tackling any prblem pertaining to this region, no intervention of a super power is needed. It is unfortunate that some forces in the land of Sri Lanka are working against this agreement. They have not betrayed India. Neither have they betrayed anybody else. They have betrayed the Tamils themselves. They have betrayed the cause of the Tamils, and the Tamil people in the land of Sri Lanka have understood it. That is why Jaffna is becoming normal. That is why life is coming to normalcy. Refugees are going back, and they are leading a normal life.

I take this opportunity to compliment this Government particularly the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, on whose initiative the six-nation summit was held and which ultimately culminated in the US-USSR treaty on nuclear arms signed recently in the month of December.

I also take this opportunity to hail this Government for having tackled the drought situation in a very effective manner. This country which has not received proper rainfall for the last four consecutive years and which has suffered a very manage to survive. The Government could manage to survive. The overnment could manage to tackle this situation. Despite the severe crisis, the Government was not required to borrow any assistance or get

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foodgrains from any country. It could manage to provide support to the people because it could manage to have a sizeable uantum of buffer stock to tackle the situation. This reveals that the country has made considerable progress, tremendous progress in the field of agriculture.

I take this opportunity to compliment this Government for having tackled the situation that cropped up in Punjab. It has tackled the problem with all fortitude and determination. Although the situation has not been normal, although normalcy is yet to be restored, I am sure, with the co-operation of all saner segments of our population, normalcy would be restored in the land of Punjab and a political solution would be arrived at. I would like to compliment the hon. President for having made a correct reference to the conspiracy and the obnoxious role played by Pakistan in the matter of creating the trouble inside our country. A reference has been made by the hon. President in his Address before the Members of both the Houses of Parliament. But I would like to request the House and the Government not to treat this particular issue in isolation. I request the hon. Members of both the Houses of Parliament to understand the whole game and not to treat it as a sporadic incident. The conspiracy, the attack which is being made by Pakistan, is a part of a planned conspiracy. It is a part of the bigger conspiracy, the conspiracy which has been tailored by the forces of right reaction in collusion with imperialist powers and foreign powers to destabilise this country, to destabilise this Government.

Sir, I would like to take this opportunity to narrate the consipracy that has been engineered by he forces of right reaction in this country, which is age-old. It has a long history. It is being done by them to jeopardise the progress of this country, to stall the joruney of this country towards socialism. The consipracy started right from the time when Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru opted for the path of socialism, started taking the country on the path of progress. The reactionary forces for some time at the initial stage thought that they would be able to take over Congress from within. They were trying to take over the Congress from within to protect their vested interests, to protect their own interests and to protect their own class interests. Their disillusionment first took place in 1959 when the Congress passed the historic Land Reforms policy. A large section of them left the Congress to form a reactionary party. Their further disillusionment took place in 1969 when the journey towards Socialism was further accentuated by Mrs. Gandhi. They left the Congress and joined the reactionary forces. They understood that it would not be possible for them to capture Congress. So, they decided to capture Parliament by defeating Congress. They got together, formed a Grand Alliance, fought elections, lost the battle and they again felt demoralised. Again they tried to do the same politics in 1977. For some time they could decive the people and come to power. The people of this country tasted the reactionary rule for 30 months, when they amended their mistake in 1980. When the people rectified their mistake in 1980, the Gongress came back to power. The forces of reaction then understood that it would not be possible to capture Parliament either. So ,they opted for the third course—to destroy Parliamentary system. So, a new conspiracy was started to destroy the Parliamentary system. This conspiracy was engineered by these forces in collusion with foreign powers. We have seen it is being played in a different manner. A two pronged attack was organised—an attack from within and an attack from outside. From within the attack was engineered so that the whole Parliamentary system becomes vulnerable. To achieve this vulnerability, the extra-Parliamentary processes were being harnessed in this country. That is why we have seen recently that the forces are being mobilised outside the arena of Parliament. The communal forces are not being mobilised under the banner of the Muslim League, but they are being mobilised under the banner of the Babri Masjid Committee. The communal forces are not being mobilised under the banner of the BJP, but they are being mobilised under the banner of

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the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. The peasantry are not being mobilised under the banner of the political party, but they are being mobilised under the banner of the BKU so that the battle which should be fought on the floor of Parliament could be taken to streets and the people solwly lose faith in the Parliamentary system. On the one hand this game was played and the extra-Parliamentary forces were being harnessed, on the other hand the issues were floated before the people to further ensure that the people believe the institution has become frivolous, the institution has lost all credibility, the institution has lost all relevance and the people develop indignation towards the Government. That is why the issue of Bofors was taken up; that is why the issue of Fairfax was taken up. All these issues were taken up and raised by the Opposition forces in Parliament to make people feel that the Government has lost its credibility, but the verdict given by the Thakkar and Natarajan Commission has proved that it was Mr. V. P. Singh who endangered the interest of the nation by taking the things to the Fairfax. Sixty Members of Parliament were going to the Swedish Embassy to request Mr. Ringberg to proble into the Bofors Affairs. Mr. Ringberg submitted his final report and each and every event ultimately proved that the Government's stand is vindicated. Now they feel frustrated. The attack from outside was engineered in such a way that inside vulnerability would ultimately create a situation that a little push from outside will destroy the whole thing. But with all fortitude, with all seriousness, with all determination the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, has tackled the whole situation and has emerged vindicated and has proved to be the most honest and cleanest Prime Minister of the country. Now they are screaming. Their conspiracy has been further exposed by the former President, Giani Zail Singh, who has given an interview in SUNDAY, where he has said that those forces were prepared to spend Rs. 30 crores to Rs. 40 crores so that he agrees to contest elections once again.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: Giani Ji has said that he is still in the Congress Party.

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY: Giani Ji has said being a Congressman, he has exposed the consipracy of these forces that even they were trying to buy the highest office of the country by spending money to ensure disruption of the Parliamentary system. Now they are so demoralised that they are asking for the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi. It is like my fighting with Dara Singh. I fight with Dara Singh and get beatings. I get thorough beatings and then request Dara Singh to kindly accept his defeat and tell people that he has lost so that my prestige is safe. Now, all the battles have been lost. All the bouts have been lost. Now, for the sake of their own prestige they are saying that Rajiv Gandhi should resign. The more you ask for his resignation, the more people are extending support to him. You have asked for Rajiv Gandhi's resignation, Nagaland people voted the Congress back to power. You have asked for his resignation, Meghalaya people have voted Congress back to power. You have asked for his resignation, the people of Tripura have voted *Congress back to power*. Therefore, the more you ask for his resignation, the more people would extend support to him. .(*Interruptions*). Don't take advantage of my physical handicap. If you continue to trouble me today I won't be able to fight properly because I am unable to see you properly..(*Interruptions*). My point is the more you would be demanding his resignation, the more people would decide to stand by him. History has proved it. Today's history has proved it. You are asking for Rajiv andhi's resignation. Why? But you are not asking for the resignation of Andhra Pradesh Government where a *prima facie* case has been established against the Chief Minister. Why you are asking for the resignation of the Congress Government?

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA : The matter si *sub judice*.

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY: But it has been proved against the Chief Minister.

[Shri Deba Prasad Ray]

I read the speech delivered by Mr. Samar Mukherjee here. He has delivered a wonderful speech. He was crying for socialism. He spoke against the multinationals. While he was speaking against the multi-nationals Jyoti Babu was having honeymoon with Hindustan Lever. While he was speaking against the capitalist system, Mr Chandan Bose was emerging as a major capitalist in the land of Bengal. Why? While Mr. Samar Mukherjee spoke against Tata, Birla, Mafatlal, he did not take the name of Goenka because Jyoti Babu was having honeymoon with Goenkna. What a wonderful speech he delivered here!

When Army was deployed in Tripura, the former Chief Minister of that State, Mr. Nripen Chakravarty has said "it was a war against democracy." Yes, it was a war against democracy of your variety, against the democracy of your kind and the kind of democracy you have introduced. Your kind of democracy means multilitating the voters' list It means to terrorise the Opposition. It means the rigging of whole elections. You have lost elections not because Army was deployed .. (*Interruptions*). The people of Tripura have hailed them. You wanted to keep your Government alive. But the people of Tripura wanted to remain alive. I want to know, where is Mr Chitta Basu. Mr. Chitta Basu is a Forward Bloc Member. His own partymen in the Left Front Government, Mr. Bhakti Bushan Mandal, Mr. Kamal Guha and Mr. Deba Prasad Bandhopadhyaya have said that Marxist party in the land of Bengal have terrorised so much that there was no atmosphere of holding free and fair Panchayat elections. Mr. Chitta Basu is not here. If he has the guts let him come and speak out the same thing. His counterparts have said it in the land of Bengal. Let him come and say here. Only day before yesterday mockery of panchayat elections took place in Bengal. The whole machinery was captured by them. The police machinery was deployed to terrorise Congressmen and the polling officers were bought by them and mockery of elections took place. They have captured most of the seats. I tell you, try to read the writing on the wall. What has been witnessed by the people in Tripura would be witnessed by you in West Bengal in 1989 if you continue to behave like this. (*Interruptions*). If you continue to behave like this, the samething would be repeated in the land of Bengal. I tell you, it is not my charge against you. It is the charge levelled by your own allies. (*Interruption*) Whether I am joining them or not, you have joined them and tey are with you. They have said all these things, I mean by RSP, by Forward Block and by your own colleagues. I am not stating what Congress has said. The other day, they were asking questions and they were trying to find out if Amitabh Bachchan has any proximity to Prime Minister. Yes, Amitabh Bachchan has proximity to Prime Minister and that is why, Amitabh Bachchan has resigned from the Lok Sabha when some charges were alleged to have been levelled against him. But the Private Secretary of Mr. Jyoti Basu against whom the charge has been established that he as defalcated Rs. 1 crore from Alipore Treasury has not been asked to resign. He has been made the Chairman of the State Transport Corporation. Sir these shameless people... (*Interruption*).

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Can he prove it? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY: I am not using any unparliamentary word. I am not stating anything which is away from facts. I am not giving any information which is wrong. I am telling you, you must enjoy because you also have a conscience. You may be a Marxist. But you have some sanity. That is why, you are enjoying, because the facts I am revealing, you do not have the courage to reveal those facts. Although you realise but being a bonded labour of CPI (M), you do not have the courage to speak all these things. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: What a mockery? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY: I would like to conclude now. I hope that I would be physical all right soon to give better

fight on the floor of the House. With this, I would like to end by saying just one quotation. (*Interruption*). I can pick-up any fight with you, karate, wrestling, kicking on your back, all these I can do. I can do any sort of fight. I am looking at the Chair, I am not physically put in a situation to look at you. I have no option but to look at the Chair. So, I would like to conclude by saying one quotation from the Tagore's poem:—

TOMAR PATAKA JARE DAO,
TARE BOIBARE DAO SHAKATI ;
TOMAR SEBAR MAHAAN DUKKHA,
SOHIBARE DAO BHAKATI !!

Give him enough strength whom you have given the responsibility of carrying your flag. Give his also enough devotion to endure the sufferings that one has to undergo while serving the cause of the people. The people of this country would give Rajiv Gandhi enough strength to carry the flag forward and the people of this country would give him enough strength to endure the sufferings that he has to pass through while fighting the forces of right reactionaries. Thank you.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I stand to oppose the President's Address tooth and nail. As you know, Sir, (*Interruption*).

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Has the Business Advisory Commitee decided to extend it beyond 5 p.m. (*Interruption*).

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: The Directive Principles as enunciated in article 39 are fundamental to the governance of the country. These are fundamental and the principle states that the ownership and control of material resources of the country are so distributed as to subserve the common good, that the operation of economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment. These are the Directive Priniciples, Sir. What has the Congress been saying? There had been a lot of lectures. Can they deny the fact that there has been accumulation of wealth in this country, that the people are downtrodden even after forty years of independence? Have they got the face to come out and say that they are socialists? They are right reactionaries. We did not say anything about Bofors. We did not say anything about submarines. We did not say anything. But it is somebody else who has stated it. You are saying everywhere to destabilise the States. The economy has been entrusted into your hands and you are using it to destabilise the country. You are destabilising the country economically and politically. You want the Damocles' sword to hang above the head of non-Congress Governments, to escape your own sins. You are denying the common man his right to fight for a better life. And when you have thrown the Directive Principles to the wind, you have got your own vision of India; What a wonderful vision after forty years of independence: I am sorry, I am ashamed, that in our villages the people are suffering. I am sorry that people are half-starved in our villages. They do not even have two square meals a day. They do not have medical care. They do not have drinking water. They do not have anything. How are you going to defend yourselves? You cannot defend. That is why you want to highlight things in the President's Address.

Your first priority is small family norm. If you think you can bring down the growth rate of population by distribution of the contraceptive condom, thanks. That is why, the rate of growth, forty years back, was 2.5 and now it is 2.25. There is blackmarketing in condoms also. And what is the quality of the contraceptive supplied?

Take anything. Except forming commissions, what have you done? Child labour for instance. Thirty million child labour are there. You have formed a commission. How many are going to be benefited by your policy? Thirty thousand, as stated by Sangmaji. What about the remaining millions and millions? What about agricultural labour? You have formed a commission. You have formed a commission or a board for everything. Take the case of women. What about the education

[Shri Vijay Mohan Reddy]

of women? Ten per cent, ten and a half per cent, eleven per cent. What about women's employment? You tell us so many things. What about the suicide of women? In Kanpur, three young girls, unable to get any job, unwilling to trouble their parents because they could not pay dowry, had hanged themselves and it has come in the press. Who is to blame? It is only the Government. It is up to the Government to see that conditons are created in our country where everybody has got a life, urge to live and a role to play. (*Interruptions*) Nothing of that sort is to be seen. Take any aspect of life. For example, the price rise. You may try to complicate the economy because you want to make use of the economy for your own purposes. But economy is not like that. What has the common man in the street or the housewife got when he or she goes to the market? You have announced in your Budget that prices will go down. But where? They are indeed going up, becoming double? What about the other food articles? Rice is selling at Rs. 6, Rs. 7 a kilo. Pulses, important grams, are selling at Rs. 13 to Rs. 15 a kilo. Edible oil is selling at Rs. 30. Mirch, tamarind, take any other commodity, the price is sky-rocketing.....

5 p m

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Just a moment, Dr. Reddy.

Honourabe Members, there is a long list of speakers before me. The Chairman has already announced that the Prime Minister will reply tomorrow at 4 o'clock. If the House agrees, we will sit for some more time this evening and finish some speakers...

SOME HON. MEMBERS: We will sit tomorrow. We will continue tomorrow.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: But let him complete his speech instead of breaking it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): All right, let him finish his speech.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: This is the state of your economy. How does the common man face it? This is not the economy which we understand. Your economy depends on deficit financing. Behind the back of the Budget there is deficit financing of Rs. 7350 crores. Who is going to bear this deficit? Can our countrymen bear this deficit? With this type of economy and deficit financing, you want to tell us you are not taxing the people; Is this the type of economy you want to preach?

Then take the problem of unemployment. According to the surveys there are more than one lakh educated unemployed in each district of this country which works out to four crore educated unemployed in the country. In each district there are one lakh educated unemployed and an equal or more number of uneducated unemployed registered. You think of them. Then there is a freeze on employment in all sectors, in public sector, in private sector, everywhere. And you say villagers are unemployed! Where is the economy going? Everyday so many people are flooding the market. The only market which is the cheapest in the world is our market of human beings. You talk of export oriented economy. Eeverybody knows how multinationals are exploiting India. It is very difficult for multinationals to produce, to manufacture, the same goods in America or other advanced countries because there they will have to pay through their nose. That is why they are coming here and you are asking them for technical knowhow. Both of you combined together are out to destroy the self reliance of our country. In the name of export orientation and technical knowhow you have started the exploitation, you are exploiting the Indian labour which is the cheapest. What is your labourer getting? Nothing next to nothing. With a half-starved belly he is made to work for 10 hours, 12 hours, a day. There is no job security for him. The labour market has become so cheap. And you are talking of progress. Your entire economy caters to just 2 to 3 per cent of the population and the entire purchasing

power is looked up by them. Don't you think there is a crisis? Are you not going to fall? The day of reckoning is nearing. The economy breaks and the system breaks. It is not we who are creating problems. In Punjab you are asking people to stand bare-chested and face the bullets of terrorists; Here you are allowing the communalists to train their armies. They are having drills. They are having Physical training. They are attacking people through communal riots. And what are you doing? You are not doing anything to curb violence. Communalism is taking power into its hands. This is the policy of the big shots and this is your policy and you are going to beat down the people with this policy of yours. Wage freeze is your policy: destabilisation of the State Governments is your policy; and destabilisation of the States, political or economic, is your policy. In every respect, your policy is the policy of authoritarianism. You are talking of elections and electoral reforms. Have you tried to think about electoral reforms properly? You want to make the Election Commissioner the paramount authority during elections. But he has not been consulted in Tripura When the election process commences, the Chief Election Commissioner must be the sole authority as far as the election process is concerned. But did you consult him? Did you take his consent? How are you going to conduct any election in this country? So say that you are conducting the elections is very easy. That is according to your rules of the game in which rigging takes place, in which booth-capturing takes place. I would like to tell you one thing. People with hungry stomachs are marching on the roads and they are to be found everywhere. Today, if Mr. N. T. Rama Rao is succeeding, it is because he is giving rice at Rs. 2/— a kg. to the poor people. If he has succeeded, he has succeeded because he has constructed 7,50,000 houses and allotted them to the poor people without taking even a single paisa from them. If he has succeeded, it is because, when your textile policy is in crisis, he is giving cloth to the poor people at half the price, at a subsidized price. He is succeeding because our party is a party of the poor people while your party is a party of the rich. But the only redeeming feature now is that the people have woken up and they are rising. Their giant march is coming on the horizon and it is for you to see that. I am a freedom fighter and I know very well what will happen if the people in their millions rise against the authority. Our people in their millions were able to rise against the British imperialists. They were bold enough to take the challenge of imprism. If they had continued that afterwards, there could have been socialism ushered in and there would have been a great civilization. Ours would have been the greatest civilization then. But we must remember what Gandhiji said. He said that selfishness was the greatest obstacle for any nation. People want to be in power somehow and that is the reason why there are many problems. But their power has no basis. How are you going to develop the States? You are going to stop assistance to the Kerala Government by asking your Reserve Bank just because they have delayed clearing their overdraft of thirty or forty crores while your deficit is about eight thousand to ten thousand crores? You want to say that the Kerala Government is not managing its economy properly and you are managing the economy well? It is only your mismanagement of the economy, it is only your policies, which have put a burden on the common man. That is why I want to say that we will fight for true federalism, we will fight for the poor people and we will fight for bringing about socialism in this country. Confrontation is there. But we are not bothered about the confrontation. We will face the challenge. That is why we are saying that you should hold the elections. We are telling you, we are challenging you, to come and face the elections and then we will show you your place. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): The House now stands adjourned till 11-00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at nine minutes past five of the clock, till eleven of the clock, on Wednesday, the 2nd March, 1988.